Ptolemy I and the Transformation of Egypt, 404–282 BCE

Mnemosyne Supplements

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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VOLUME 415

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Ptolemy I and the Transformation of Egypt, 404–282 BCE

Edited by

Paul McKechnie
Jennifer A. Cromwell

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Cover image description: From left: A Nectanebo II gold stater from the 350s/340s. A Ptolemy I stater issued in the name of Philip III of Macedon while Ptolemy was satrap of Egypt (i.e. between 316 and 310 BCE). Images published by kind permission of www.cngcoins.com.
Silver tetradrachm (14.28g) minted by Ptolemy I (305–283 BCE). Collection of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Studies, Macquarie University (ACANS 05A03). Photography courtesy of ACANS.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: McKechnie, Paul, 1957- editor. | Cromwell, Jennifer, editor.
Title: Ptolemy I and the transformation of Egypt, 404-282 BCE / edited by Paul McKechnie, Jennifer A. Cromwell.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2018. | Series: Mnemosyne supplements. History and archaeology of classical antiquity, ISSN 2352-8656 ; volume 415 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018016199 (print) | LCCN 2018017559 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004367623 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004366961 (hardback : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Egypt–History–332-30 B.C. | Egypt–History–To 332 B.C. | Ptolemy I Soter, King of Egypt, -283 B.C.
Classification: LCC DT92.P7 (ebook) | LCC DT92.P7 P85 2018 (print) | DDC 932/.021–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018016199

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2352-8656
ISBN 978-90-04-36696-1 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-36762-3 (e-book)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

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Preface

In 525 BCE, near Pelusium, Cambyses and his Persians fought and routed the army of Egypt, led by Psammenitus (Psamtik III, last pharaoh of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty), then laid siege to Memphis and took control of the country.[1] Eighty or so years later, Herodotus saw a miracle (θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον), which is to say that he heard of it from locals (πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων):[2] the Persian skulls left on the battlefield could be holed by throwing a pebble at them, but the Egyptian skulls from the same battle could hardly be broken with a large stone.

Egyptians—this is the point of the unreliable story—were resilient. Forty years or so after Herodotus' visit to Egypt, they found a way of departing from the Persian orbit. The skull-cracking came later, in their resistance to multiple invasions over a sixty-year period. Like an old-time pharaoh, Nectanebo I, longest-reigning and most powerful ruler in these years, attributed his success to his goddess Neith, as stated in the stele from Naucratis and its twin from Heracleion:[3]

> She raised his majesty above millions,
> Appointed him ruler of the Two Lands;
> She placed her uraeus upon his head,
> Captured for him the nobles' hearts;
> She enslaved for him the people's hearts,
> And destroyed all his enemies.
> Mighty monarch guarding Egypt,
> Copper wall enclosing Egypt;
> Powerful one with active arm,
> Sword master who attacks a host;
> Fiery-hearted at seeing his foes,
> Heart gouger of the treason-hearted.

That stele itself, however, its wording echoing the Egypt of long ago, testified to the change which surrounded the Two Lands and would sweep them along with it. Its purpose was to regulate and tax trade with the outside world—and

1 Hdt. 3.10–13.

2 Hdt. 3.12.

3 Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 86.

that outside world in the 340s brought Egypt Artaxerxes III, "the king of kings, the king of countries, the king of this earth";[4] then in 332 "Alexander, destroyer of the Persians",[5] who was followed by his successor Ptolemy.

The impact which the outside world had for good and ill on Egypt made the fourth century into a period of transformation for the country. In a conference at Macquarie University in September 2011, the authors whose work is published in this volume met to discuss that transformation under a broad range of headings. Predecessor volumes in this informal series are my and Philippe Guillaume's *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World* (2008), Joachim Quack's and Andrea Jördens' *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck* (2011) and Kostas Buraselis, Mary Stefanou, and Dorothy J. Thompson's *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile* (2013).

Jennifer Cromwell and I wish to thank those who were present for their enthusiasm and their forbearance, and Dorothy J. Thompson in particular for her encouragement and counsel. We wish to thank Macquarie University for accommodating the conference, and the Ian Potter Foundation for a grant towards the costs.

P.McK.
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November 2017

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4 From his inscription on the western staircase of the palace of Darius at Persepolis: A3Pa (cf. Kent, *Old Persian*, 107–115).

5 Theocritus *Idyll* 17.18–19.

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Introduction

Paul McKechnie

This book has a unique aim: to describe and explain change in Egypt during the fourth century BCE—the century of Alexander the Great's conquest, and of the takeover by Alexander's general, Ptolemy son of Lagus, who in the fullness of time became pharaoh, and the founding figure in a ruling dynasty which was to last almost three hundred years. It has been observed before now—for example, by J.G. Manning in *The Last Pharaohs*—that the Ptolemies were the longest-lasting dynasty in Egyptian history;[1] but their record and the compelling attractiveness of the empire they presided over have induced nearly all writers to make 323 into Year One in a way which has closed down analytical possibilities rather than opening them up.

The Library was institutionally pivotal, a *sine qua non* for the growth of "the archive", as Tim Whitmarsh would call it.[2] Alexandria became the largest and most vibrant city in the world: home to Herophilus' ground-breaking (and soon forgotten) work on human anatomy, home to Euclid's *Elements*, home to Eratosthenes' sieve. The imperial politics of Hellenistic Egypt began with the ruin of Perdiccas, bearer of Alexander's ring; advanced through early alignment with Rome; ended in intrigue—Cleopatra and Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra. All that Ptolemaic brilliance, however, has stolen the limelight from Egypt itself, which in the long run ought to be the star of the show. Except by convention, 323 was not Year One, and a proper explanation of how events went forward in Egypt calls for examination of circumstances which were working themselves out in Egypt long before Ptolemy set foot there.

Ptolemy has found his historians and biographers, notably W.M. Ellis (1994), C.A. Caroli (2007), and recently Ian Worthington (2016). Worthington's account touches on Egypt from when Alexander arrived there,[3] and in substance from the time of Ptolemy's takeover after Alexander's death.[4] For Egypt before Alexander, Worthington echoes a familiar narrative: the Egyptians hated the Persians, and the reason for that hatred was the contempt in which the Persians as rulers held the Egyptians: "killing their sacred bulls in a blatant disregard of

1 Manning, *Last Pharaohs*, 31.

2 Cf. Whitmarsh, *Ancient Greek Literature*.

3 Worthington, *Ptolemy I*, 32–35.

4 Worthington, *Ptolemy I*, 89–212.

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native religion".[5] As a biographer of Ptolemy, Worthington allows himself no lapse in concentration—in his book Egypt comes into focus only as the scene of the second half of Ptolemy's life.

Persian Egypt—a seldom-used phrase—more or less still awaits its historian. This modest book cannot fill that void. When someone with the right skill-set to draw together the complex sources and diverse modern studies which bear on Egypt between 525 and 323 comes forward, however, I am certain that the studies in the present collection will throw important light on the matter in hand. The excitement generated by the new Achaemenid history will perhaps prompt someone to develop a special study of the country which elsewhere in this book I have called "a jewel in the Persian crown".

In an agenda-setting chapter, Dorothy J. Thompson profiles Ptolemy and shows how Alexander's conquest and Ptolemy's takeover meshed with existing conditions in Egypt. There was precedent in Egypt, both relatively recent and from ancient history (which some priests knew of), for foreigners as rulers; but Ptolemy commenced—as the Persian rulers of what Manetho was to number as the Twenty-seventh Dynasty did not—by living in Egypt and positioning himself and his government consciously with attention to Egyptian as well as Macedonian precedent. The Ptolemies, although at times ambitious in relation to territorial acquisition outside Egypt (Cyrene, Cyprus, an island empire), eschewed the radical flexibility in borders which over time characterized the Seleucid and Antigonid kingdoms. Thompson investigates how Ptolemy i's own disposition coalesced with the characteristics of the country he ruled in the second half of his lifetime to give rise to a distinctive and long-lasting state.

Before the coming of Alexander to Egypt, however, an enigma surrounds how the empire of the Persians first fought for six decades to recover the land, and then, after a decade in command once more, proved unable to defend it. The focus in my, Paul McKechnie's, chapter is on how the loss of Egypt looked from the heart of Persian power—and what Artaxerxes ii and his son Artaxerxes iii wanted from the Greek world in the decades when reconquest was in its varying stages of planning, failure (satraps' revolts), renewed endeavour, and seemingly final success—soon followed by Alexander's capture of Tyre and its sequel in his takeover in Egypt. Ptolemy, too, had his fight for Egypt: at first the Nile crocodiles saved him (as did Perdiccas' officers), and later, his strategy for defending Egypt involved seeking control of Syria, as Tachos had done in the days of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

5 Worthington, *Ptolemy i*, 33.

One of the benefits for the Macedonians of taking Egypt over was that it brought them into contact with "the only intelligent calendar which ever existed in human history", as Otto Neugebauer called it.[6] The late Chris Bennett in "Soter and the Calendars" quotes Neugebauer and engages with the drama of the initial encounter between Macedonian and Egyptian timekeeping. The Hyksos, foreigners who ruled Egypt as the Fifteenth Dynasty in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BCE, at first had their own calendar, until a calendar reform left the Egyptian calendar unchallenged. The Persians retained their "own" calendar (i.e. the Babylonian calendar) for their dealings with Egypt—but it was a system which failed to leave a mark on how things were done in Egypt after the Persians were gone. Bennett comments on how in many other places in the Macedonian sphere the calendar was "an instrument of policy"—that is, imperial policy. Ptolemy Soter throughout his reign relied on the Egyptian calendar for most Egyptian purposes, and the Macedonian calendar for Macedonian purposes (including taxation—an area in which any Egyptian concern took second place to a Macedonian concern of overriding urgency).

One of the most significant parts of the transformation which occurred in Egypt was the shift over the fourth century from restricted use of coins—very uncommon in the fifth century—to a Ptolemaic political economy which was monetized to an important degree. Henry P. Colburn's chapter, a groundbreaking study, surveys the role of coinage in Egypt across the fourth century: a study which commences from an analysis of what constituted wealth and money in the patchwork of temple-based economies which added up to Egypt in the Twenty-eighth to Thirtieth Dynasties. The influence of Athens is writ large in the use of the Athenian tetradrachm (and Egyptian copies of it) during the decades of indigenous rule in Egypt; and in the decade after the Persian reconquest, coins—still imitation Athenian tetradrachms—were minted with the names of Artaxerxes, Sabaces, Mazaces. However, once Ptolemy had begun minting coins—first in Memphis, then Alexandria—Athenian tetradrachms ceased to be buried in coin hoards: the journey to the closed monetary system characteristic of the Ptolemaic state had commenced.

Throughout Egypt, the temples held land, collected and stored produce, and existed symbiotically with the pharaoh and the central government—or a regional ruler, in periods of divided authority. Neglect of temples went together with decay in infrastructure and general institutional weakness; periods of vigour and expansion went together with growth in the temple sector:

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6 Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 8.

redevelopment, and creation of new temples. When Alexander decreed the building of Alexandria, he specified what deities were to have temples there—Greek deities, except Isis. But Alexander's new departure came on the back of an unusually active period of temple-building in Egypt in the earlier fourth century, and particularly in the days of the Thirtieth Dynasty. In her chapter, an innovative analysis based on discussion of major sites, MARTINA MINAS-NERPEL examines the dynamic of pharaoh and temple building across the fourth century. The temple was the cosmos, and its decoration showed the pharaoh carrying out the rituals which ensured the good estate of Egypt. The rulers of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, the Persian kings, had not taken action to co-opt this architectural and ritual structure; but Nectanebo I reasserted the convention in new temple work across Egypt. Then during Alexander the Great's short reign, extensions to temples went ahead in several locations: evidence for Alexander's deliberate policy of strengthening relations between church and state. Accidents of non-preservation have been less kind to Ptolemy I's new temples, but enough survives to infer a master plan implemented in a range of developments.

In the next-to-last chapter of the book, BOYO OCKINGA subjects the Satrap Stele, *chef d'oeuvre* of hieroglyphic documents of Soter's reign, to a more detailed linguistic and historical examination than it has received before. His findings underline the sense that institutional memory, in the form of the learning the Egyptian priesthood could draw on, was highly influential in shaping the way Ptolemy and his government were presented to the Egyptian public. In 311 he had not yet declared himself pharaoh—he remained loyal to Alexander IV—but the fingerprints of kingship are all over the stele.

Yet at the same time as all the well-judged conformity with Egyptian expectations which Ptolemy Soter's regime demonstrated, there was large-scale migration from the Macedonian and Greek world into Egypt, and Alexandria especially. The impact is evident partly in the burial-places the migrants used, and THOMAS LANDVATTER in his chapter reanalyses Evaristo Breccia's reports of his finds in the Shatby cemetery at Alexandria (in use from the late fourth century to the early third), with the aim of looking beyond the convention which used to privilege Hadra vases by classifying them under the heading of art objects—with the result that finds from excavations at Shatby were reported with insufficient sensitivity to the whole context in which they were discovered. Cremation, as un-Egyptian as it was, was not only Macedonian—although in Macedon it had a particular elite connotation; and nowhere in the Greek world, apparently, was cremation the primary method of disposing of dead bodies. LANDVATTER's work, however, adds considerable detail to knowledge of the use of cremation in the context of the Shatby cemetery, and leads

to the inference that cremation in the first half-century or so of Alexandria's existence operated as a marker of non-indigenous identity, rather than of a specifically Greek or Macedonian identity.

Over the long fourth century from 404 to 282 Egypt was transformed. The Achaemenid-ruled Egypt where Herodotus had travelled and found that he was in opposite-land (where women go shopping and men do the weaving; where priests have shaven heads, while in Greece they have long hair[7]) became a destination for Greek migration in a way it never could be in the days of eighth-century colonization—when Mediterranean regions with strong governments remained able to regulate Greek settlement, or disallow it altogether. The Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Dynasties, but especially the Thirtieth Dynasty, put matters within Egypt back on a track more characteristic of how things had worked over the centuries before Cambyses' conquest; and subsequently Alexander and his successor Ptolemy maintained vital features of the Thirtieth-Dynasty settlement while simultaneously building an innovative settler society on foundations derived from their Macedonian heritage.

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7 Hdt. 1.35–36.

CHAPTER 1

Ptolemy I in Egypt: Continuity and Change

Dorothy J. Thompson

The sudden and unexpected death of Alexander in Babylon in the summer of 323 BCE was immediately followed by disagreement and dispute among his key generals over the succession. As recipient of the king's signet ring, Perdiccas took the role of regent for Philip Arrhidaeus, Alexander's half-brother, who though mentally impaired was now nominally appointed king, and in the ensuing (first) division of territory in the words of Diodorus Siculus he "gave Egypt" to Ptolemy son of Lagus.[1] As so often with public announcements on key matters of state, the background to this "gift" must be left to the imagination. It may have been the result of long, hard negotiation but whatever went on behind closed doors there is no doubt that Ptolemy made the most of what he was offered. He made for Egypt immediately, and finding a healthy treasury there (with some 8,000 talents) he set about enlisting mercenaries to build up an army and to reinforce the garrisons.[2] He was after all a general of long experience, who had marched with Alexander all the way. This was a world where military strength came first and Ptolemy was well aware of this. But there was more to Ptolemy's approach.

Ptolemy, so Diodorus reports, took Egypt without difficulty and he treated the inhabitants in a benevolent manner (*philanthrôpôs*). A large number of friends flocked to join him there because of his fairness (*epieikeia*). "Benevolent" (*philanthrôpos*) and "fair" (*epieikês*) are adjectives used elsewhere to describe Ptolemy, who was also said to be generous (*euergetikos*), a man who showed personal bravery (*idia andreia*) and treated those who came to him with cordiality and kindness.[3] The account of Diodorus is consistently positive

1 Diod. Sic. 18.2–3.1, *tên Aigypton edôken*.

2 Diod. Sic. 18.14.1.

3 Diod. Sic. 18.14.1, acting *philanthrôpôs* and showing *epieikeia*; 33.3, generous and fair (*euergetikos kai epieikês*), granting all the leaders freedom of speech (*parrhêsia*); 34.4, personal prowess (*autos aristeuôn*); 39.5, personal bravery (*idia andreia*); 19.55.5, his kindness (*chrêstotês*), showing a cordiality and generosity (*to ektenes kai philanthrôpon*) towards those who fled to him; 56.1, his kindness (*philanthrôpia*) towards Seleucus. On Ptolemy's "people skills", see further McKechnie in this volume.

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and I use it here to introduce my subject, since it raises the question of the role of the individual in the events of which he was part. For Ptolemy son of Lagus was soon to become the first of a new dynasty of Macedonian pharaohs in the age-old land of Egypt. How far can the character of this man be seen to have combined with his political, strategic, and military acumen to explain the success of the early generations of Ptolemaic Egypt, the longest-lasting of Alexander's successor kingdoms?

In considering the interplay of events and the role that Ptolemy played, first as satrap and then as king, the overarching questions that concern me here are those of continuity and change. How far did Ptolemy adopt or adapt the situation he inherited, and what sort of innovations did he make? Such questions apply not just to the period immediately before—to the experience of Alexander's conquest and the set-up he put in place—but to earlier periods too. For during the first half of the fourth century BCE under the Thirtieth Dynasty (404–342 BCE), which included the reigns of Nectanebo I and II, Egypt had once again enjoyed a period of independence before the second period of Achaemenid rule (343–332 BCE) that was ended by Alexander's conquest. Yet earlier, the first dynasty of Persian rulers (Twenty-seventh Dynasty, 525–404 BCE) followed the (Egyptian) Saite kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664–525 BCE). Egypt was no stranger to foreign rulers, but in the face of similar challenges these rulers differed in their approach, and the new Macedonian rulers appear well attuned to the record of their Persian predecessors.

One final aim of this contribution is to draw attention to the range of sources available to the historian of the period—monuments and buildings, inscriptions and coins, literary and historical texts, ostraca and papyri in a range of different languages (Egyptian, both hieroglyphs and demotic, Aramaic, and Greek). All of these are limited in coverage, often frustratingly inconclusive in what they tell; together they may begin to provide some answers to my questions.

Ptolemy son of Lagus was aged around 44 when he acquired Egypt to govern as satrap for the new king Philip Arrhidaeus.[4] Some ten years older than Alexan-

4 The title of satrap is—to date—first recorded for Ptolemy in a Greek marriage contract, *P.Eleph.* 1 = *M.Chr.* 283.1 (310 BCE), in the 14th year of his satrapy. In the hieroglyphic "Satrap stele" of 311 BCE (Cairo JdE 22182, trans. Ritner in Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 392–397 at 393) Ptolemy is termed "a great Prince who is in Egypt". For his years, see Lucian, *Makr.* 12: Ptolemy died aged 84, having handed rule over to his 25-year old son (in 285 BCE) two years before his death.

der, under whom he had loyally served, he too was Macedonian, from the region of Eordea, as we learn from one of Posidippus' poems.[5] His name Ptolemaios is from the Macedonian form of *polemos* (war) and that of his father—*La*(*a*)*gos*—is "leader of people". And Ptolemy the warlike lived up to his name. Credit for the wealth he found in Egypt's treasury at Memphis must go to Cleomenes, whom Alexander had left in charge with overall financial responsibility.[6] Cleomenes gets a poor press from Greek sources, but for Ptolemy the full treasury he found in Memphis enabled him to secure the boundaries of his country.[7]

Like his predecessors, Alexander had left garrisons at Memphis, at Pelusium on the eastern approach, and on the island of Elephantine on the southern border, which on one occasion he used as a place of safe-keeping for dissident Chiotes.[8] From an earlier date, fairly extensive finds of Aramaic papyri provide information for the Persian garrison at Elephantine, made up of Jews and others on the island with its connected civilian settlement in Syene (Aswan), on the eastern bank of the Nile.[9] This was an obvious place for a garrison and it is not surprising to find continuity here. Under the Achaemenids, as again the papyri show, relations regularly ran up and down the Nile. It seems likely that the Nile valley postal service, which is later found in place, dates in origin from the Persian period;[10] the king's roads and communications system were features of the Achaemenid empire.

The commander whom Alexander left at Memphis, Peucestas, is now known from a stray sheet of papyrus, with four nail holes in its corners, which comes from the desert edge of Saqqara and bears an order. In Greek, it reads: "(Order) of Peucestas. No entry. Priestly property."[11] Such respect shown by the invaders for a temple structure is surely illustrative of the approach favoured by Alexander and his officers, an approach that finds other support. After all, on arrival at

5 Posidippus (A–B) 88.4.

6 Arrian 3.5.4, responsible for control of the eastern Delta ("Arabia") around Heroonpolis, for relations with native rulers (nomarchs) and collection of dues. See Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt".

7 Ps.-Arist. *Oec.* 2.2.33 (1352 a–b), raising cash, corn dealing (cf. [Dem.] *Dionysod.* 7), relations with priests; Arrian 7.23.6, a negative view; Paus. 1.6.3, his position and fate; cf. Baynham, "Cleomenes of Naucratis".

8 Arrian 3.5.3, cf. 3.2.7, for Elephantine.

9 Porten, *Elephantine Papyri in English*; Thompson, "Multilingual Environment", 395–399.

10 *P.Hib.* I 110.54–114 = *Select Papyri* 397 (c. 255 BCE). For the earlier Persian system, cf. Hdt. 5.52–54.

11 Arrian 3.5.5, Peucestas son of Macartatus as *stratêgos*; *SB* XIV 11942 (331 BCE?).

the capital of Memphis in the course of his invasion, Alexander is said to have sacrificed to Apis, the Egyptian sacred bull, and the other gods before holding Greek-style games and musical contests.[12] When later he came to lay out the foundations for his new city of Alexandria on the coast, along with other temples he included one for Isis, the Egyptian goddess.[13] As so often, Alexander set the tone which Ptolemy was to follow. On taking the title of king, it is notable, one of Ptolemy I's first acts was a decree forbidding the alienation of sacred property.[14] We shall return to this subject below.

Ptolemy concentrated first on his military security and when, as he had expected, two years later Perdiccas invaded in an attempt to take Egypt from him, he was able successfully to hold off his attack. Perdiccas came from the east to Pelusium and somewhat south of there the two sides engaged. Ptolemy gouged out the eye of his opponent's leading elephant; Perdiccas retreated yet further south towards Memphis where disaster struck. As he tried to organize a river crossing to the island for his troops, the stirred-up bed of the river dissolved and disappeared beneath their feet. Two thousand men were lost, either drowned or consumed by the crocodiles. His troops turned against their leader and Perdiccas was speedily dispatched. Ptolemy, on the other hand, was generous to the defeated troops; he himself, of course, always stood in need of additional troops.[15] He also forewent the chance to take over control of the two kings (Arrhidaeus and Roxane's young son, Alexander IV).

In repelling Perdiccas, Ptolemy had successfully fought off the only invasion that made it past the Egyptian frontier until that of Antiochus IV in the second century BCE. Egypt was now secure, and when at Triparadeisos later in the same year Antipater oversaw a further division of the satrapies from Alexander's empire, he left Ptolemy where he was, for—Diodorus reports—it was impossible to displace him; he seemed to be holding Egypt by virtue of his own prowess, as if it were a prize of war (*hoionei doriktêtos*).[16] Ptolemy was a mili-

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12 Arrian 3.1.4.

13 Arrian 3.1.5. For this temple as possibly that of Isis, lady of Yat-Wadjat, see BM stele EA 886 (in Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, 329–333, no. 65) with Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*², 129.

14 *SB* XVI 12519.1–10 (second century BCE), with Rigsby, "Edict of Ptolemy I". For the original date of this decree as 304 BCE, see Hagedorn, "Ein Erlass Ptolemaios' I. Soter?".

15 Diod. Sic. 18.25.6, preparations in 322 BCE; 18.29, decision to invade with the kings (i.e. Philip Arrhidaeus and the young Alexander IV); 18.33–36.7, invasion, defeat, death and aftermath. See now Roisman, "Perdikkas' Invasion".

16 Diod. Sic. 18.39.5, cf. 18.43.1, *hôsanei tina doriktêton*.

tary man and his satrapy was presented as "spear-won" territory, a description that recurs; in this post-Alexander world this, it appears, gave him a degree of legitimacy.

Before looking more closely at the nature of his "spear-won" territory, mention should be made of a second aspect of Ptolemy's "right" to control Egypt—in the eyes, that is, of the Greeks: his possession of Alexander's corpse. On Alexander's unexpected death in Babylon, the embalmers got to work; instructions were given for the design of an exceedingly elaborate hearse and its construction dragged out for nearly two years, during which time a lot of jockeying took place for the best positions amongst Alexander's generals. Finally all was ready and the funerary procession set out, most probably for Macedon where Alexander would come to join in death the earlier Macedonian kings. But on the way—and the details are obscure—in Syria they deviated from their route and Alexander's cortège ended up in Egypt, to Ptolemy's advantage. Remains and relics can have enormous force and those of Alexander were among the most potent imaginable. Buried first in Memphis, which for some time still served as the country's capital as in the period before, Alexander's remains formed a powerful talisman for Ptolemy. He later brought them to Alexandria, where they were probably located by 311 BCE when the Satrap stele was erected (see below). It was there, almost three hundred years later, that Octavian, refusing to pay his respects to the Apis bull of Memphis and treating with disdain the centre where the Ptolemies were preserved, chose instead to visit the mausoleum of Alexander; and there he managed to knock off the Conqueror's nose.[17] Yet, for the moment Alexander was better looked after, and for that Ptolemy son of Lagus was responsible. They served each other well, and sometime around 290 BCE a cult of Alexander was established in the capital, with a prominent Alexandrian serving as eponymous priest.[18] The dynastic cult of the Ptolemies was later added. This link with Alexander and the continuity it implied was important for Ptolemy son of Lagus.

Ptolemy's long life—he held Egypt for some forty years and died aged 84—must to some degree be part of his success. After all, he escaped assassination and managed the succession well. But an important part in this success was surely played by the country itself. Self-contained and fertile, the long narrow valley of the Nile, with the Delta to its north, was bounded by desert on either side, with Libya to the west and Arabia to the east. The Nile valley was

17 Diod. Sic. 18.26.1; 18.28.2, preparations for hearse; 18.43.1; *FGrH* 156.9.25.1; Paus. 1.6.3; Strabo 17.1.8, with Erskine, "Life after Death". For Octavian, see Dio 51.16.5; 17.4–5.

18 *P.Hib.* I 84a.1 (285/4 BCE), cf. *P.Eleph.* 2.1 (284 BCE) with Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, 365, n. 215.

narrow, but as long as the Nile flood reached a reasonable level—neither too high nor too low—it was potentially productive, the source of Egypt's continuing wealth. With good management, control of its ditches and dykes, and an administration that functioned reasonably well, as long as the country was free of internal strife Ptolemy could expect a continuing return from the crops that were sown in the valley.

Traditionally, Egypt was divided into Lower and Upper Egypt; the tying of the knot between these two lands, a regular scene on monuments, signified the early act of union between these two lands. But tension always remained between Upper Egypt, with its central city of Thebes and the temple of Amun, and Lower Egypt, centred on Memphis where the great temple of Ptah was recognized by Herodotus as that of Hephaistos. Memphis, as already noted, was the capital which Alexander had visited first and it continued to hold this role into the start of Ptolemy's period of control as satrap. Later, the focus switched to Alexandria on the coast, looking now towards the Mediterranean, where the new regime had originated, rather than with the African focus of earlier times. Within ten years, it seems that the capital had moved to Alexandria. Such at least is the implication of the so-called Satrap stele of 311 BCE which records the reaffirmation of a royal donation to the local temples of the Delta town of Buto. There, Alexandria, Ptolemy's (satrapal) residence, is named the "Fortress of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merikaamon-Setepenre, the son of Re, Alexander".[19]

Ptolemy too was soon to become the Lord of the Two Lands where, unlike his Persian predecessors, he was a resident pharaoh. In grasping what this involved and the nature of the geography and history of the country, he showed a willingness to learn from local instruction. He was after all a historian himself.[20] His account of Alexander's expedition was to serve as one of the two main sources much later for Arrian's account of Alexander's eastern conquests.

19 Ritner in Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 393; Merikaamon-Setepenre is "beloved of the *ka*-spirit of Amon, chosen of Re", and Alexandria is further described as formerly named Rhakotis, "on the shore of the great green sea of the Greeks". For Alexander's full royal titulary, see Bosch-Puche, "L''autel' du temple d'Alexandre le Grand", 33–34; Bosch-Puche, "Egyptian Royal Titulary of Alexander the Great" I and II. On the Satrap stele Xerxes probably stands for Artaxerxes (342–339 BCE); see further Ockinga in this volume.

20 See *FGrHist* 138. Arrian (1.2) trusted Ptolemy since, as a king, he would refrain from lies; he may have been over-optimistic. More recent writers have differed as to Ptolemy's reliability; see, e.g., Welles, "Reliability of Ptolemy"; Errington, "Bias in Ptolemy's History"; Zambrini, "Historians of Alexander", 217–218, with further bibliography; Meeus, "Territorial Ambitions", 304–305.

Ptolemy addressed the problem of the two lands in a novel, very Macedonian way, by founding a further Greek polis in the south, a city named for himself—Ptolemais Hermeiou, just south of Akhmin—as an alternative to Thebes and a centre of Greekness in the area. With a cult of Soter and *polis* status, Ptolemais remains something of a mystery.[21] There are no papyri from there and though excavation has at last been planned there is no immediate prospect of it starting. In founding Ptolemais, Ptolemy showed himself aware of the need to control the south. This area posed greater problems to his rule than did the north. This was a legacy that remained for his successors.

Impenetrable deserts make good borders and, as Perdiccas and others found, the approach to Egypt from the east was far from easy. Understandably, Ptolemy was concerned also to control the Gaza strip and Phoenicia to the north, the area known as Koile Syria. Phoenicia was an important source of timber and ships, both of which Egypt lacked, so from early on Ptolemaic troops were active in the area. The first Syrian invasion came in 319 BCE and it may be this expedition to which the Satrap stele refers, reporting how (in Ritner's translation): "he brought back the sacred images of the gods which were found within Asia, together with all the ritual implements and all the sacred scrolls of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt". This repatriation could, however, have followed the later victory of Ptolemy and Seleucus over Demetrius Poliorcetes at Gaza in 312 BCE.[22] Whichever expedition lies behind the claim, it is clear that Ptolemy was acting as a traditional Egyptian pharaoh, for whom the return of looted statues was a standard result of victory abroad.[23] At the same time, he followed the example of Alexander, who returned to Athens from Susa the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, looted during Xerxes' invasion 150 years before.[24]

It was not just the land borders of Egypt with which Ptolemy was concerned. Cyprus too was an early target of his ambitions. Situated off the coast of Egypt and close to that of Phoenicia, Cyprus lies in an important strategic position. If Ptolemy had any Aegean pretensions, of whatever kind, strong naval bases were important. Cyprus also had natural resources—copper, corn, and (like Phoenicia) timber for ship-building. Furthermore, its location was suited to a role it

21 *P.Haun.* IV 70.18–20 (119/18 BCE), a cult of *theos Soter* in the city. A dynastic priesthood of Ptolemy I Soter and the ruling monarch(s) was instituted in Ptolemais only in 215/214 BCE.

22 Diod. Sic. 18.43.2, Phoenicia invaded by Ptolemaic forces (319/18 BCE); 18.80.3–84.8, victory at Gaza in 312 BCE.

23 Winnicki, "Carrying Off and Bringing Home".

24 Arrian 3.16.8, return of statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; Alexander himself was of course following eastern precedent.

often played in later years as an alternative home for royal princes, those not liquidated but wanted off the scene, or as a haven for fugitive kings; its governors form a roll-call of the high-ranking stars of the Ptolemaic administration.[25]

Ptolemy first invaded Cyprus in 315 BCE, with the help of Seleucus and his brother Menelaus, and he annexed the island in 313 BCE. In 310, Menelaus was appointed governor—an example of what may be noted as a feature of personal monarchy, the appointment of family and friends to key positions.[26] In 306, however, Ptolemaic forces were decisively defeated by Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius.[27] Finally, in 295, Ptolemy recovered the island, which then remained with the Ptolemies until bequeathed to Rome in the first century BCE.[28]

To the west of Alexandria, communications were somewhat easier than to the east. Here, the city of Cyrene, a seventh-century BCE Greek foundation, was the most important settlement. Once again, Alexander set the scene when he marched out westwards from his new city in the direction of Cyrene. According to the less reliable account of Diodorus Siculus,[29] at Paraetonium (modern Mersa Matruh), he met up with envoys from Cyrene, who brought him gifts and a treaty of friendship, before he turned south into the desert on his way to the Siwa oasis. If some form of treaty was ever made at that time, this did not survive into the new regime. Early on as satrap, however, in 322, Ptolemy took advantage of rivalry among the local aristocrats and mounted an expedition west under his general Ophellas. Ophellas speedily subdued Cyrene and its territory, and was left in charge of the city.[30]

Egyptian relations with Cyrene remained close and, like Cyprus, for much of the Ptolemaic period it remained a dependency of Egypt, under greater or lesser control of the centre—another home for Ptolemaic princes, a prize for younger brothers who were needed off the scene. Ophellas, the first governor, met a violent end after a revolt and assertion of independence, and in 301, following the battle of Ipsus, Ptolemy installed his stepson Magas as governor of

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25 On Cyprus, see Caroli, *Ptolemaios I. Soter*, 83–87; cf. Bagnall, *Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions*, 38–79. More generally, see now Meeus, “Territorial Ambitions”.

26 Diod. Sic. 19.62.4–5, 79.4–5; 20.21.1–2, Ptolemy and Cyprus. See below for Magas, his stepson (son of queen Berenice), as governor of Cyrene.

27 Diod. Sic. 20.47.3–4, 49–53.1; cf. Buraselis et al., *The Ptolemies, the Sea and the Nile*, chapter 1, nn. 15–19, on the naval aspect.

28 Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, 204–205; Caroli, *Ptolemaios I. Soter*, 87.

29 Diod. Sic. 17.49.2–3; Curt. 4.7.9. There is no mention of this in the version of Arrian.

30 On Cyrene, see Caroli, *Ptolemaios I. Soter*, 71–83; Bagnall, *Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions*, 25–37, on the administration of the wider area.

the city.[31] With this excellent choice of governor, the problem of Cyrene was solved, at least for some time. Again a family member had come in useful, and the western boundary of Egypt was secure.[32]

An appreciation of the geography of Egypt would appear to have been an important factor in the ultimate success of Ptolemy son of Lagus. Alone of Alexander's successors, Ptolemy succeeded in preserving unchanged the boundaries of his core kingdom; his was the kingdom too that lasted the longest when Rome entered the scene. This is where Ptolemy built up his personal position, where he consolidated his rule, and where he made innovations. The changes he made need some further consideration.

First, the changing position of Ptolemy. Even after Alexander IV, the second of the successor kings, was liquidated by Cassander in 311 BCE, Ptolemy remained nominally satrap until 304 BCE. Then, following the example of Antigonus and Demetrius, who had recently routed him on Cyprus, Ptolemy abandoned this fiction and openly adopted the title of king—just *basileus*, not king of any particular place. No longer was any *single* successor to Alexander on the agenda. So, from shortly after this date, Ptolemaic coins drop the Alexander possessive (*Alexandrou*) in favour of "(of) king Ptolemy" (*Ptolemaiou basileôs*). The diademed head of Ptolemy now replaces that of Alexander on the obverse and what became the Ptolemaic eagle on a thunderbolt is figured on the reverse.[33] This is a powerful image of a powerful ruler. From the same date, the new regnal years of Ptolemy are found on documents and inscriptions in both Greek and Egyptian. Ptolemy was no longer satrap; he was king. Soon he was also Saviour—Soter.[34]

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31 Paus. 1.6.8.

32 The use of Ptolemy's daughters for political ends is equally striking; see Bennett's reconstruction of the "Ptolemaic Dynasty" (http://www.tyndalehouse.com/Egypt/ptolemies/ptolemy_i_fr.htm), replacing Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, 71. His daughter Eirene by Thais married Eunostus, king of Soli (Cyprus). Theoxena, his step daughter (d. of Berenice), married Agathocles, king of Sicily; of his two daughters by Berenice, Arsinoe II married (1) Lysimachus, king of Macedon and Thrace, (2) Ptolemy Ceraunus, and (after her father's death) (3) her brother Ptolemy II; Philotera died fairly young apparently unmarried. Of his daughters by Eurydice, Ptolemais married Demetrius Poliorcetes; Lysandra married (1) Alexander V, king of Macedon, (2) Agathocles, son of king Lysimachus.

33 Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, 66; Le Rider & de Callataÿ, *Les Séleucides et les Ptolémées*: 50–51. On Ptolemy's later introduction of a closed monetary economy, see de Callataÿ, "L'instauration"; Lianou, "Ptolemy I", 399–409.

34 For title of king, see Caroli, *Ptolemaios I. Soter*, 175–176, with discussion of sources, which differ on chronology and motivation. For the title of Soter, granted by the Rhodians, see Paus. 1.8.6. Hazzard, "Did Ptolemy I get his Surname from the Rhodians?", 52–56, questions

With coinage, we enter the realm of interpretation. How far were such changes really significant and who was responsible for making them? Is this a case of Ptolemy manipulating his image? For this was a cultured king, a king with a sense of the past, who, writing history himself, was well aware of the importance of self-presentation. (In this context, one might recall the hissing snakes he recorded—the Egyptian royal reptile rather than Aristoboulus' crows—who led his predecessor Alexander safely through the desert sandstorm to the oracle temple at Siwa.[35]) As far as Greeks were concerned, with spear-won territory, Alexander's remains, and the conqueror's example to the fore, Ptolemy trod carefully and, it seems, with success. However, it was not just images that he cultivated, but economic prosperity as well.[36] This was important in encouraging immigration, as also in ensuring the loyalty of his troops.

There is a tendency for occupying powers to function in the tried ways that they know best. So, the first wave of Persian pharaohs, who unlike the resident Ptolemies always ruled Egypt from outside, aiming to exploit their new province ignored the Nile valley in favour of what is now known as the Wadi Gadid, the New Valley—the area, that is, of the western oases, with Bahariya, Dakhla and Kharga running southwards, and Siwa to the north. This is the main area in Egypt where Persian period temple building took place, and this in turn is likely to reflect the growing agricultural wealth of the area which resulted from technological improvements in irrigation under the Persians. We know of these both from excavation and from the finds of demotic ostraca recording water rights in the area.[37] Now, in the Wadi Gadid, diesel pumps bring up the water from below; the deep-down waters that once covered the desert of the Sahara give the misleading impression of a never-ending flow. In the Persian period, in contrast, water was brought through a network of qanats, underground tunnels hewn out of the rock, which used the natural slope of the land to carry water long distances underground before spilling it out onto the fields. The system of qanats is described—none too clearly—by Polybius in the region

the role of Rhodes. It may be relevant that a statue of Zeus Soter stood on top of the Pharos in Alexandria.

35 Arrian 3.4.5. See Barbantini, "Mother of Snakes and Kings", 221.

36 On the economic aspects of Ptolemy's consolidation, see now the helpful discussion of Lianou, "Ptolemy I".

37 For temples, see Bagnall and Rathbone, *Egypt: From Alexander to the Copts*, 249–278: in Kharga, temples at Hibis and Qasr el-Ghueita (both Darius I); in Bahariya, the Alexander temple. For underground waterducts (falaj / foggera / manafi / manawal / qanat) in oases, see Chauveau, "Les qanāts"; Wuttmann, "Les qanāts de ʿAyn-Manâwîr"; *O.Douch.dem.* and *O.Man.*

east of the Caspian gates;[38] it was a system the Persians knew well, and one which they now put to good use in the western oases of Egypt.

Macedonians, in contrast, were more familiar with techniques for drainage. In Macedon, under Alexander's father Philip II, the plains around his new foundation of Philippi had been drained, while further south in Boeotia drainage work on Lake Copais was ongoing.[39] In Egypt, the happy coincidence of Macedonian expertise in drainage and long experience in irrigation on the part of the Egyptians allowed important land reclamation to take place, especially in the Fayum, the basin lying some 50 km south of Memphis. This area was known as the Marsh or Lake District (*hê Limnê*), but early drainage and land clearance here resulted in large new tracts of cultivable land which Ptolemy could use to settle his troops, on plots that would feed them when not under arms and provide them with a pension on retirement.[40] There were precedents for such a land-grant policy in both imperial Athens and in Macedon itself, where Philip had rewarded his companions with land, and in Egypt land grants for soldiers are reported from early on.[41] As well as tying troops to the land, cleruchic settlement would aid the crown in encouraging agricultural production. The success of Ptolemy's policy may be seen in Cyprus, when Menelaus' troops were defeated at Salamis in 306 BCE. A large number of men were killed, but even more made prisoner by Demetrius. With troops in short supply, Demetrius decided to pardon his prisoners and to re-enrol them among his own forces. Imagine his surprise when rather than welcoming this act of clemency the men defected back to the losing side. Their families, goods and chattels (*aposkeuai*), Diodorus reports, lay back home in Egypt; their lot lay firmly with Ptolemy.[42] Military strength and the economic well-being of his kingdom went hand in hand for this king.

In any historical explanation, the role of the individual plays its part, and in the case of Ptolemy I this seems to have been particularly important. For Ptolemy was a cultured individual, a king who was concerned not just with the security of his power-base and the economic well-being of his subjects. He him-

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38 Polyb. 10.28.2–6.

39 Theophrastus, *De causis plantarum* 5.14.5–6; Hammond and Griffith, *History of Macedonia*, 659; Strabo 9.2.18, Copais under Alexander.

40 Cf. *P.Rev.* 31.12; 72.11, 17 (259 BCE), the Lake District. For drainage and reclamation, see Thompson, "Irrigation and Drainage".

41 For earlier allotments in Egypt, see Hdt. 2.168; Diod. Sic. 1.73.7–9, land or *machimoi*. Larger gift-estates (*dôreai*) granted to non-military personnel are only documented from under Ptolemy II, but could well predate his reign.

42 Diod. Sic. 20.47.4. On *aposkeuê* in this sense, see Holleaux, "Ceux qui sont dans le bagage".

self, as already noted above, was a historian endowed with a sense of the past and the importance of tradition; but how far was this the case for the other Greek immigrants to this ancient land? What picture of their new homeland was encouraged from above for these settlers, what image of Egypt was fostered? In partial answer to this question, mention must be made of the role of royal patronage, especially in relation both to the Alexandrian Museum and Library, and to Manetho, priest of Heliopolis.

For the Muses' sanctuary and its connected library, both Ptolemies I and II have been given credit. The sources line up on either side and in the end it is impossible to be sure.[43] In opting to ascribe the original concept to Ptolemy I, I place reliance on the reported input of Demetrius of Phaleron. More importantly, however, the project fits well with what is known of Ptolemy I, a cultured individual as well as a military leader and strategist, a king who was full of initiative and aware of the bigger picture. Manetho from Sebennytus in the Delta, Egyptian priest at the great temple in Heliopolis, was the recipient of royal patronage under either Ptolemy I or II and is best known for his record in Greek of the earlier dynasties of Egyptian history.[44] Ptolemy's project of fostering a broad sense of Greek and Egyptian culture in his new home may be seen as central to his success. In this enterprise, he needed cooperation from those with relevant expertise.

It makes good sense for new rulers to listen to those with local knowledge. From early in the reign of Darius I, there survives the statue with a long biographical inscription of a prominent Saite noble, one Udjahorresne, who earlier served under Amasis and Psammetichus III. Udjahorresne was a vicar of Bray sort of figure, a man who turned to serve the new regime as a courtier under Cambyses. He did well from his new position. In residence at the Persian court, he was appointed chief physician; he was even, he boasts, responsible for composing the Egyptian titulary for the new rulers—"King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the offspring of Re", is how Cambyses was to be known. He won support, he claims, for building projects at his home temple of Neith in Sais, and he ended his days back in Egypt.[45]

43 See, for instance, Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, 312–325, with full documentation to that date.

44 The Byzantine chronicler Syncellus places him under Ptolemy II. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 28, connects him with the introduction of Sarapis to Alexandria. See now Dillery, *Clio's Other Sons*.

45 Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, 36–41, translates the hieroglyphic inscription of his statue; cf. Lloyd, "The Egyptian Elite in the Early Ptolemaic Period", 118–119; "From Satrapy to Hellenistic Kingdom", 85–86; Legras, "Les experts égyptiens".

The use of experts, like Udjahorresne, to advise on the subjects of their expertise is a practice for which Ptolemy I was also noted. Manetho fits this pattern on the Egyptian side. The Eumolpid Timotheus from Athens was another invited to court; he most probably oversaw the introduction there of the Demeter cult in Alexandrian Eleusis.[46] Timotheus is further recorded as providing advice on the image for the new cult of Sarapis, which takes us further into the subject of religion.

In Egypt, the pharaoh played an important part in the well-being of the country and, from Alexander on, Macedonian rulers readily assumed this role. Alexander's extraordinary expedition deep into the Sahara to visit the oracle temple at Siwa, which met with near-disaster in a sandstorm, fits the picture of a strong sense of need for divine acknowledgement as pharaoh, as the new ruler of Egypt, especially in the eyes of the Egyptians. In the oasis of Bahariya to the south of Siwa, a Greek dedication from "King Alexander" to "(his) father Ammon" was inscribed on the side of a hieroglyphic dedication from the Alexander temple.[47] On the walls of a new structure in the earlier barque chapel of Amenhotep III, within the Luxor temple, the new ruler was portrayed in different forms of pharaonic dress before Amun and a variety of other Egyptian gods.[48] For pharaoh was high priest throughout the land, even if others regularly fulfilled this role. In Egyptian eyes, Alexander was pharaoh. Indeed, as already noted, he had adopted this role on his first arrival at the capital, Memphis, when he had made sacrifice there to Apis and the other gods.

As so often, Ptolemy I adopted the same policy. When, some time after his arrival in Egypt, an Apis bull died of old age and lavish preparations were underway for the seventy-day period of mourning and mummification, Ptolemy provided a loan of fifty talents to help with the heavy costs of burial.[49] Patronage like this was very much at odds with the reported acts of Persian predecessors. In contrast to Cambyses or Artaxerxes Ochus, Ptolemy showed himself a good

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46 Tac. *Hist.* 4.83. In 2011, Jean-Yves Empereur of the Centre des Études Alexandrines, working with the Musée de Mariemont, may have located Eleusis in the district of Smouha in Alexandria, cf. Bruwier, "Sur les traces de l'Éleusis d'Alexandrie".

47 Bosch-Puche, "L' 'autel' du temple d'Alexandre le Grand", 37–38.

48 See Schäfer, "Alexander der Grosse", a detailed study of Alexander as pharaoh in the context of Egyptian religion; Lloyd, "From Satrapy to Hellenistic Kingdom", 86–89; Minas-Nerpel, this volume. Hölbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, 306, conveniently collects similar material for Ptolemy I; cf. Fraser, "A Temple of Ḥatḥōr at Kusae", 98, for the Hathor temple at Kusae; Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*, frontispiece, for Tebtunis.

49 Diod. Sic. 1.84.8, with Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*^{2}, 106–107, 177–192.

Egyptian pharaoh.[50] He further acknowledged the importance of Apis in Egyptian eyes when he adapted the cult of the deified (that is, mummified) Apis known as Osiris-Apis, Osorapis in Greek, in the new Alexandrian cult of the god Sarapis, now a deity in human form.[51] Developed probably with Greek and other immigrant communities in mind, in practice Sarapis took off particularly as a god for export. Along with Isis and Anubis, Sarapis came to represent Ptolemaic Egypt throughout the Aegean world.

As long as a pharaoh served the gods of the country, thus looking after the well-being of his people, he might expect a reasonable reception. Ptolemy was rather good at this. The Satrap stele has already been mentioned above; there, a strong contrast was made with Egypt's earlier Persian overlords. In its hieroglyphs, the stele records the reaffirmation by Ptolemy of an older grant of territory to the local gods of Buto. A similar grant is recorded, this time in the demotic script, on a stele now in the collection of Sigmund Freud.[52] On that stele, a smaller donation is described—of a local chapel—and Ptolemy is once again shown as generous and respectful towards the gods of Egypt. Such a stance was essential to his survival and that of his regime.

Other hieroglyphic material illuminates the role that, alongside Greeks, Egyptians played in the court and counsels of Ptolemy I. Alan Lloyd has drawn attention to members of the Egyptian elite known to have served in these early years. These include a couple of descendants of the last native pharaohs, Nectanebo I and II.[53] Such well-connected members of the military and priestly elite, who found themselves now serving under an immigrant pharaoh, retained a sense of their value and importance to the new regime. Another was Petosiris, whose magnificent tomb has survived at Ashmunein and who, in the course of a long biographical inscription (probably) from early in the reign, claims that:[54]

> I was favoured by the ruler of Egypt.
> I was loved by his courtiers

50 See Thompson, *Memphis Under the Ptolemies*², 99, for details.

51 The bibliography on Sarapis is immense. See, most recently, Bergmann, "Sarapis im 3. Jahrhundert"; Devauchelle, "Pas d'Apis pour Sarapis!", with more emphasis on the Osiris aspect.

52 Ray, "Donation stele 5481".

53 Lloyd, "The Egyptian Elite"; Lloyd, "From Satrapy to Hellenistic Kingdom", 94–95.

54 Translated by Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, 44–54, at 48. For the tomb, see Cherpion, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris*; for the date, see Menu, "Le tombeau de Pétosiris (4)", 250, under Alexander; Baines, "Egyptian Elite Self-Presentation", 45–47, early Ptolemy I.

Petosiris claims he was at home at court, and others too made this claim. The inscription from the sarcophagus lid of a Memphite, one Onnophris, describes his well-connected lifetime pursuits:[55]

> I was a lover of drink, a lord of the feast day,
> It was my passion to roam the marshes.
> I spent life on earth in the King's favour;
> I was beloved of his courtiers.

Yet another from Memphis, the lady Tathotis, describes the role of her offspring, especially her son Beniout:[56]

> … his son [i.e. her grandson] was in the service of the Lord of the Two Lands and transmitted reports to the magistrates. They [i.e. he and his father] preceded all the courtiers in approaching the king for each secret counsel in the palace.

It is only from the hieroglyphic sources that this picture of continuity may emerge. The language of these texts is of course formulaic, the dates are often only approximate, and the actual strength of the influence claimed is hard to assess. Nevertheless, any rounded consideration of Ptolemy I must take account of such records.

In contrast to the many Aramaic texts from the Persian period, just a few Greek papyri survive from the first generation of Ptolemaic rule. One papyrological discovery is, however, relevant to our enquiry into Ptolemy I. To put this in context, we need to return to the southern border settlement of Elephantine where, as already mentioned, the existing garrison was replaced under Alexander. From here, a jar was found dating from the early Ptolemaic period and in it a group of private papers, including Greek marriage contracts recording unions between new settlers who came from many different parts of the Greek world. So, for instance, in one contract dated 311 BCE, Herakleides from Temnos married Demetria from the island of Cos.[57] Of the six witnesses required for this to be legal, three were from Temnos like the groom, one from Cos like the bride, one from Gela in Sicily, and one from Cyrene along the coast west of Alexandria.

55 CGC 29310 = Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, 281–284, no. 58, translated in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, 55.

56 Vienna stele 5857 = Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, 228–230, no. 47.4–5 (230–220 BCE).

57 *P.Eleph.* 1 (310 BCE), with introduction to volume for the find.

Earlier, the Persian garrison had consisted mainly of Jews and other Semitic peoples. Now, early in the second decade of Ptolemy's tenure of Egypt, a very mixed Greek community was settled at this garrison post. Security at home was important for Ptolemy, who after all was primarily a military man, and it was Greeks that he used to secure the border.[58]

Greek papyri only survive in significant numbers from the reign of Ptolemy II onwards when changes in burial practices, with the recycling of discarded papyri from government offices to make mummy casing or cartonnage, allow us to see the system at work from the mid-third century BCE. But when they do start to survive in number, Greek papyri tend to provide a somewhat misleading picture of the degree of Greekness in the land. First, far more of the surviving Greek papyri have been deciphered and published than have contemporary texts in (Egyptian) demotic; this somewhat skews the picture. Secondly, language use is not always to be identified with the ethnicity of its user. It probably was the case, as it later appears to have been, that already under Ptolemy I within the administration most of the senior ranks were filled by immigrants, but at the local level Egyptians must have run the system. And as was indeed the case earlier, under the Persians, and later, under the Arabs, it was not overnight but within a generation or two that local scribes retooled, learning the new language and script of the now Greek rulers of their land. Their Egyptian hands are still to be traced in the rush with which they sometimes used to write.[59] Some of them changed their names, or went by double names.

This is the reality of the Ptolemaic system that was developing under Ptolemy I. Both immigrant Greeks and Egyptians were involved in a system which increasingly functioned in Greek. As we seek to identify the extent of continuity or change involved in these early years, it remains imperative that we avoid being overly influenced by any one set of sources. That means looking closely at *all* that survives from Egypt in this period, in all languages and scripts, at visual material too, and at material culture, at temples, coins, and other surviving objects. This is the only way that we may start to get closer to an evaluation of continuity and change under Ptolemy I.[60]

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58 See Fischer-Bovet, *Army and Society in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 40–45, 52, 120, on the structure and role of the army more generally under Ptolemy I.

59 Clarysse, "Egyptian Scribes Writing in Greek".

60 As is to be found in the contributions to this volume. My own paper has greatly benefitted from discussion from other participants at the original meeting on Ptolemy I at Macquarie University, NSW, in September/October 2011. I wish to record my thanks to Paul McKechnie for inviting me to take part in such a stimulating gathering.

This investigation has primarily been concerned with Ptolemy I within the country he ruled. A fuller appreciation would need to look more closely at his dealings in the Aegean, where the strong navy he built up laid the foundations for the League of Islanders that flourished under his successor, Ptolemy II. Struggles with the Antigonids in the same area of the Aegean and along the Lycian, Cilician, and Syrian coasts were on-going during his reign. Syria, as already noted, was invaded more than once. It is, however, the power base of the territory of Egypt, which lay at the base of these other ventures.

What I have tried to show in this chapter is the degree to which the broad vision and personal characteristics of Ptolemy, his sense of history and how he learned from his experience, allowed him to make the most of the land that was granted him. Aware of Egypt's past, with the constraints of its geography and the power bases of Upper and Lower Egypt, he followed Alexander's example in his respect for indigenous ways. In contrast to the earlier Persian overlords, Ptolemy was not an absentee but a resident ruler. He was pharaoh of and in Egypt, concerned with the gods of his adopted land as much as with of those from home, and as such accepted into the temples of Egypt and, like Alexander before him but not the Persian rulers, displayed on temple walls. Like all previous rulers, he too was concerned to make the most of the agricultural wealth of the valley of the Nile, and in his administration he was happy to exploit existing expertise.

Under Ptolemy, however, Egypt was now ruled by a Greek pharaoh, and the administration centred in the new city of Alexandria began, increasingly, to function in Greek. Details of the developing bureaucracy only become known under the reign of his son, Ptolemy II, but whereas many of the old institutions—like census or land survey—remained in place, when details do emerge it seems that some degree of innovation and experiment was in hand that probably dates back to the reign of Ptolemy I. Coinage began to play a greater economic role, being used for the payment of taxes; monetization was underway. The new Greek settlers, from Macedon and elsewhere too, came to form a minority over-class in the towns and villages of the Egyptian countryside, and in the capital new cultural institutions, like the Museum or the Library, promulgated a degree of Greekness through their activities and their holdings. Meanwhile, Ptolemy's acute military sense was an enduring feature. He had strengthened the borders of Egypt and taken thought for the provision of the men that he needed for his army, both at home and abroad. With a strong power base in Egypt, he was well-fitted for an international role. He lived long and, with admirable imagination, by instigating joint rule with his chosen son (another Ptolemy), on his death he secured a family succession.

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61 For papyri, see the web-based version of *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. (http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist.html).

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CHAPTER 2

The Greek Wars: The Fight for Egypt

Paul McKechnie

To the Persians in their days of greatness, Babylonia was the core of their realm; and the big three other satrapies[1] were Bactria, Lydia, and Egypt. Hilmar Klinkott comments on their known economic and diplomatic importance.[2] Lydia, in Klinkott's words, was the "gate to the West", guaranteeing the political and trade connection to the Aegean. Bactria, in a similar way, was a potter's wheel which facilitated trade branching out into the territory of the Sogdians and the Sacae, the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs. To gloss the term "trade" in Klinkott's context, one must avoid being (in Moses Finley's words) "bemused by the Anglo-Dutch wars",[3] and bear in mind that "trade competition" equals competition to secure supply of commodities, not competition to gain markets. That supply, at a symbolic level, is the flow of tribute to the king, as illustrated in the Persepolis reliefs—while, at a more prosaic level, it is most importantly the supply of armed forces for the king's campaigns.

This chapter's name is adapted from the title of George Cawkwell's *Greek Wars: The Failure of Persia*. The implication here that there ought to be reservations about "the failure of Persia" is intentional, and a current of sympathy with the "new Achaemenid history" will be detected in this chapter as a whole.[4] What will be expounded, therefore, is the idea that a vital focus of the whole fourth century, from Cunaxa to Ipsus, was "the fight for Egypt"—for "Eldorado on the Nile" (as Naphtali Lewis called it),[5] and that by emerging as the last winner of that fight, Ptolemy son of Lagus inaugurated in Egypt what J.G. Manning (drawing on Willy Clarysse) calls the "Greek millennium".[6]

1 Hdt. 3.89–97.

2 Klinkott, *Der Satrap*, 58.

3 Finley, *Ancient Economy*, 158.

4 An idea discussed and evaluated by McCaskie, "'As on a darkling plain'", especially at 152–173.

5 Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 8–36.

6 Manning, *Last Pharaohs*, 27–28; Manning makes it a "long millennium", viewing the Ptolemaic reformation as "the *consummation* … of a long process of understanding and accommodation between two cultures that had been in direct and sustained contact with each other since the seventh century BC."

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In the Persian imperial context, the importance of Bactria and Lydia, respectively, is clear: Bactria was governed by highly placed satraps including Masistes,[7] and in the last Achaemenid days by Bessus,[8] who attempted to take over as king after Darius III. Pierre Briant argues, from the appointment of Bardiya, younger son of Cyrus, to Bactria, that the Achaemenid kings attached great importance to the satrapy.[9] Its continuing importance under Alexander is evident, because it was the home of his wife Roxane, daughter of Oxyartes.

Lydia, destination of the royal road, had a special role in the empire, one which is implied by the four Lydian gold Croeseid coins found under each of the two foundation deposits at Persepolis. Soon after, gold coins showing the king as an archer were to be minted at Sardis—but coin production apparently remained from the royal viewpoint a contribution which Lydia was uniquely qualified to make. Then, in 408, Darius II sent Cyrus the Younger, his second son, to a western Asian command centred in Lydia—a power-base which seven years later was to give Cyrus a decent chance of overthrowing his elder brother Artaxerxes II.

Cyrus' revolt was a pivotal moment in the life of the Achaemenid empire, not for what it accomplished (since Cyrus failed to overthrow Artaxerxes, and was killed in the attempt), but for what it distracted Artaxerxes from—in Egypt, the third of the big three satrapies. About the time of Darius II's death, Egypt had revolted from Persian control. This was not unusual: every, or almost every, accession to the throne was accompanied by a power-struggle.[10] Pharaoh Amyrtaeus' reign and the time of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty are dated from 404,[11] but Amyrtaeus' control of Egypt was partial at first: Egyptians fought for

7 Hdt. 9.107 and 113. Possibly Masistes' name reflects Old Persian *mathišta* ("the Greatest"), a word used by Xerxes in XPf, the Harem Inscription from Persepolis, where Xerxes says: "Darius had other sons, but—thus was Ahuramazda's desire—my father Darius made me the greatest [*mathišta*] after himself. When my father Darius went away from the throne, by the grace of Ahuramazda I became king on my father's throne" (XPf lines 28–35; cf. Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 523). Tuplin, "All the king's men", 55, argues against the idea that *mathišta* is a technical term, and Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 520, observes that the word is used in XPf where the (unattested) term **visa-puthra* might have been expected.

8 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.8.3 and 21.1.

9 Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 78.

10 George Cawkwell, *Greek Wars*, 162, explains the revolt as "presumably part of the usual accession troubles of a new king". On the power-struggle at the *beginning* of Darius II's reign, see Lewis, *Sparta and Persia*, 70–76.

11 Darius' nineteen years as king of Egypt commenced in 424/3, and Amyrtaeus' six in 405/4, according to Eusebius (*Chronicle*, Schoene-Petermann edition, p. 149).

Artaxerxes at Cunaxa,[12] and the Jewish garrison based at Elephantine until 399 remained loyal to Persia.[13] Under these conditions, Egypt could not be a short term priority for the king. It was, however, a jewel in the Persian crown.[14] Summarizing the tribute of Egypt, Herodotus says:[15]

> The sixth province was Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all of which were included in the province of Egypt. From here came seven hundred talents, besides the income in silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver, and the assessment of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for a hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Wall of Memphis and their allies.

This makes Egypt, in Herodotus' list, the Persians' second richest satrapy, after Babylonia, assuming that Babylon's 1000 talents of silver and 500 eunuch boys were worth more than 700 talents, plus the income from the fish, plus the supplies for the Persian garrison in Memphis. In Xerxes' day, the satrap of Egypt had been the king's own brother, Achaemenes son of Darius:[16] all satraps were by definition highly placed in the Persian empire, but not many could be more senior than the king's brother.

Egypt, then, was worth keeping,[17] as it must have seemed to Artaxerxes II when he surveyed the outer portions of his imperial spider-web in the aftermath of Cunaxa; whereas Greece, or at least European Greece, was a realm over which his ancestors had had (at best) partial control. What Artaxerxes II and III wanted from Greece was help in regaining Egypt. Egypt, they wanted for its own sake; but Greece, they wanted for the sake of Egypt. This fact is practically the key to the history of Greece from the Peloponnesian war until

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12 Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.8.9; but in discussions after the defeat at Cunaxa, Xenophon says, some Greeks were speculating that Artaxerxes might hire their army to campaign against Egypt (*Anabasis* 2.1.14). Later, Clearchus tells Tissaphernes that he has heard that the Persians are "especially angry" with the Egyptians (*Anabasis* 2.5.13).

13 Porten, *Elephantine Papyri*², p. 18.

14 And yet not, in my view, "the main granary of the Empire" (as argued by Dandamaev, *Political History*, 273).

15 Hdt. 3.91.2–3.

16 Hdt. 7.7.

17 Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 652, calls the reconquest of Egypt "the Great King's principal object".

Alexander—a period which can seem like an incoherent mess of attempts to establish hegemony.

The Spartans were at the heart of the incoherence. They, as Polybius observed,[18] "… after contending for supremacy in Greece for many generations, when they did get it, held it without dispute for barely twelve years." Afterwards Athens seemed to be in the ascendant, and at the Olympic Games in 380, Isocrates asked[19] "Who, be he young or old, is so indolent that he will not desire to have a part in … an expedition led by the Athenians and the Spartans … faring forth to wreak vengeance on the barbarians?" But Isocrates was an Athenian, and a teacher of rhetoric, and his hopes for Panhellenism as an Athenian-led project were more or less all talk. Then, in the 370s, Thebes entered the scene as a hegemonic power; and Epaminondas, as he lay dying in 362, claimed,[20] "I leave behind two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea, my victories"—but he failed to cement Thebes' decade-long advantage over other Greek states; and as Xenophon, a hostile but not incompetent witness, wrote,[21] "there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle [of Mantinea] than before."

It appears that even before Cunaxa, Artaxerxes had a tool to hand to strengthen his partial control of Egypt: the army of 30,000 which Abrocomas, satrap of Phoenicia,[22] had—and which Cyrus thought might cut his own advance off at the Syrian Gates. This army may have been recruited with a view to a campaign against Egypt,[23] but, if so, it was needed elsewhere. Afterwards, across the period before Alexander, although it is difficult to gauge with exactitude how much was put into regaining control of Egypt, there were recurrent efforts to invade and conquer. Table 2.1, based principally on Greek literary sources, gives an idea of how Artaxerxes II and III approached the challenge of regaining Egypt.

18 Polybius 1.2.

19 Isocrates 4 (*Panegyricus*).185.

20 D.S. 15.87.6.

21 Xenophon *Hellenica* 7.5.27.

22 Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.4.5, not describing Abrocomas as a satrap; Klinkott, *Der Satrap*, 515: Suda *sv* Ἀβροκόμας and Harpocration *Lexicon* p. 3, 3 describe Abrocomas as a satrap under Artaxerxes, not specifying which Artaxerxes: Klinkott prefers Artaxerxes III, perhaps implausibly (a misprint here?).

23 On this Cawkwell, *Greek Wars*, 162, cites Dandamaev, *Political History*, 273, approvingly.

TABLE 2.1 *The fight for Egypt: Persian operations from the beginning of Artaxerxes II's reign*

Date	Source	Details
401	Xenophon *Anabasis* 1.4.5	Abrocomas, satrap of Phoenicia, has an army of 30,000: raised with a view to being used against Egypt (?)
397–396	Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.4.1	Phoenician fleet of 300 ships observed in preparation by Herodas of Syracuse: intended for Egyptian campaign (?)
[393–390 or] 385–383	Isocrates 4 (*Panegyricus*).140	Attack on Egypt led by Abrocomas, Pharnabazus, Tithraustes
374–368	D.S. 15.41–44 Nepos *Datames* 3–4	Attack on Egypt led by Pharnabazus, Iphicrates; (Tithraustes), Datames
[360]	[D.S. 15.90–93]	[Attack by Tachos on Persian-controlled Phoenicia] D.S. 15.92.5: "Artaxerxes not only cleared [Tachos] of the charges against him but even appointed him general in the war against Egypt"
359 or before	George Syncellus Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας Dindorf edition (Bonn, 1829) p. 486 line 20–487 line 4 (= 256 B)[24]	Attack on Egypt led (?) by Ochus (later known as Artaxerxes III) [Presumably same thing as the defence of Phoenicia against Egyptian attack, led by Tachos then Nectanebo II]

24 "This Ochus campaigned against Egypt while his father Artaxerxes was still alive, as others did, and at a later date (μετὰ ταῦτα) he conquered Egypt, and Nectanebo fled: as some say, to Ethiopia; but as others say, to Macedonia …"

TABLE 2.1 *The fight for Egypt: Persian operations* (cont.)

Date	Source	Details
354/3 (?)	Demosthenes 14 (*On the Symmories*).31[25]	Greek mercenaries would fight for Artaxerxes III
	Trogus *Prologue* 10	Three invasions of Egypt by Artaxerxes III
351/50	Demosthenes 15 (*Liberty of the Rhodians*).11–12; Isocrates 5 (*To Philip*).101	Campaign against Egypt led by Artaxerxes III's generals
343	D.S. 16.44.1–51.3	Campaign against Egypt led by Artaxerxes III himself
341 or later, probably 336		Recapture of Egypt by Persians from Khababash

Of the authors drawn on in the table, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Demosthenes (in descending order of age) wrote as contemporaries. Xenophon had something like first-hand knowledge of Abrocomas' army, and does not say it was raised for an Egyptian campaign—that inference is modern. In the case of the fleet in 397/6, the informant is named; but, again, the inference that an attack on Egypt was the objective is modern. Yet, absence of evidence that Xenophon saw Egypt as the king's real priority does not prove the modern inferences wrong.

Isocrates and Demosthenes, instead of military intelligence, had as their source whatever passed for political news at Athens. This is a persuasive point, in my view, against Cawkwell's view, otherwise plausible up to a point, that the three-year Abrocomas, Pharnabazus, Tithraustes expedition, mentioned in the *Panegyricus*, could have taken place in the late 390s:[26] speaking in 380, it

25 "… although I believe that many Greeks would consent to serve in his pay against the Egyptians and Orontes and other barbarians, not so much to enable him to subdue any of those enemies as to win for themselves wealth and relief from their present poverty, yet I do not think that any Greek would attack Greece. For where would he retire afterwards? Will he go to Phrygia and be a slave?"

26 Cawkwell, *Greek Wars*, 162–163.

is more likely on balance that Isocrates was recalling something which happened two to five years ago, than something from more than a decade before.[27] Furthermore, even though events a decade old and more may remain vivid (remember 9/11), there is a second matter to consider: the King's Peace. The point of the King's Peace in 387, to Artaxerxes, must have been to allow him to take action in Egypt without worrying about Greece—and with Greek troops as part of his invasion force. Therefore, there must have been a Persian operation in Egypt in the 380s. If it was a different operation from the Abrocomas, Pharnabazus, Tithraustes expedition, the lack of attestation of it in Greek sources would be a difficulty. Given that the allusion in the *Panegyricus* is the only reference to the Abrocomas, Pharnabazus, Tithraustes expedition, which would otherwise remain unknown, and granted that one attestation is barely more than zero, it is even possible to claim that a great invasion of Egypt could have gone *unmentioned* in the sources; and yet, it would seem on a balance of probability to be more likely than not that the Abrocomas, Pharnabazus, Tithraustes expedition was the invasion of Egypt which must have been the sequel to the King's Peace—instead of its having taken place in the nineties, and a completely unattested operation having taken place in the eighties.

Then Diodorus, Nepos, and Pompeius Trogus wrote their works, in the first century BCE, using a complex mix of earlier texts as their sources: Hammond's first article on the sources of Diodorus Siculus Book Sixteen, a classic of a sort, hints at the intricate task Diodorus faced in producing his text—and Hammond describes the man himself as a "careless and unintelligent compiler".[28] Less harshly and more recently, Iris Sulimani comments on Diodorus that "though his work represents some progress in the field of source-citation, he most certainly was a man of his world."[29] From a modern perspective, that world, the intellectual world of the first century BCE, was more like an iceberg than its fourth-century equivalent had been: nine-tenths under water, in the sense of not now being extant at all; but the surviving tithe originally having stood on the bulk of invisible work, and bearing a relation to it which is difficult to quantify.

27 This is the majority view, held for example by Dandamaev, *Political History*, 297. Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 652, professes uncertainty, but places the expedition in the 380s, while Sekunda, "Notes on the *Life of Datames*", 40, writes of three years within the span from 384 to 380, and Lloyd, *CAH* VI^2, 347, also argues that Isocrates, speaking in 380, must have been referring to the war between Pharaoh Achoris and the Persians, after the King's Peace.

28 Hammond, "Sources of Diodorus XVI", 79.

29 Sulimani, "Diodorus' Source-Citations", 567.

If that is the truth about Diodorus' allusive summaries of how the Persian kings struggled against the rulers of the Twenty-eighth to Thirtieth Dynasties, then it is the truth squared in the case of the prologue which records Pompeius Trogus' claim that Artaxerxes III *Aegypto bellum ter intulit*:[30] "the truth squared" because the Trogus prologues themselves were once the tip of their own iceberg. It would seem that "three times [in Artaxerxes III's reign]" is implied—and that it might therefore be correct to date his three invasions in 354, 351, and 343, but to count as a separate campaign—and one which took place in 359 or before—the occasion when Ochus, later Artaxerxes III, attacked Egypt (George Syncellus says, in his Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας) during his father's reign.

Now, if Diodorus', Nepos', and Trogus' books come down as ice from a much-attenuated iceberg, then perhaps Syncellus' Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας ought to be seen as coming from the ninth-century section of a long ice-core in which Diodorus, Nepos, and Trogus are eight hundred and fifty years further down. Appointed to the prestigious position of cell-mate of Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, George Syncellus had access to the iceberg itself, in cold storage in the imperial palace library—the same library where, in the tenth century, Constantinus Cephalas was to assemble the *Palatine Anthology*, mother of all collections of Greek epigrams. Cephalas did for his epigram project what Syncellus had done earlier, just after 800, drawing on the old books for his chronographical project. Although Syncellus wrote late in the tradition, his sources were not inferior to those used by Diodorus, Nepos, and Trogus; in fact, they were (broadly speaking) the same.

The tipping-point in the events summarized in the table, and a hinge of fate for the Persian empire, was the expedition commencing (after several years of preparation) in 373, for which the path had been cleared by the Greek common peace of 375.[31] Diodorus writes of how the expedition failed, despite having Iphicrates on the team—the best-performed Greek general of his day—together with Pharnabazus, satrap of Cilicia, Artaxerxes' most reliable western servant. During the unsuccessful invasion of Egypt in 373, Pharnabazus (Diodorus says) came to distrust Iphicrates because he was afraid that Iphicrates would take control of Egypt for himself,[32] and perhaps his fear was not unreasonable; but the political stakes in the operation were so high that Iphi-

30 Pompeius Trogus *Prologues* 10.

31 D.S. 15.38.1–2: "Artaxerxes ... particularly hoped that the Greeks, once released from their domestic wars, would be more ready to accept mercenary service ..."

32 D.S. 15.43.2.

crates was only the first to lose his place on the team. Pharnabazus was recalled by Artaxerxes, and Datames appointed as his successor.[33]

Sekunda argues that the expedition of the 370s against Egypt lasted at least four more years after the defeat of 373, the Persian force remaining based at Acre with Datames in command;[34] and then, as Nepos makes a point of noting, even when Datames left Acre to commence his revolt (in 368, Sekunda argues), he left Mandrocles of Magnesia in command of whatever was left of the invasion force.[35]

The subsequent satraps' revolts, although narrated more clearly than ever before by Simon Hornblower in 1994,[36] remain hard to account for in detail. Which satraps were aiming to take over the Persian empire, one would want to ask, and which were only hoping to rule their own satrapies without an overlord? The answers are not always clear. There is, however, a striking synchronicity between the five-year campaign to regain Egypt, its eventual failure, and the commencement of the multi-phase complex of satraps' revolts. Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, sent Philiscus of Abydos to Delphi in 368 with money to hire mercenaries for Ariobarzanes' revolt—or such was his real motive, although, as cover, he made an attempt at negotiating *détente* between Sparta and Thebes.[37] Wars against Artaxerxes II continued throughout the 360s. By 362, Pharaoh Tachos was allied to rebel satraps, planning an advance into Phoenicia to attack Persian forces. Virtually unlimited commitment of resources and political capital to the project of regaining Egypt had rebounded on Artaxerxes II, costing him credibility where it mattered most, among the satraps on whose loyalty he had to depend.

The king defeated his enemies before his death in 358, but his legacy to Artaxerxes III was far from unproblematic. In 347, Isocrates, who was being unfair while sounding plausible, said in the speech *To Philip*, after Artaxerxes had been in power a dozen years, that[38]

> … this King is so far from exercising dominion over others that he is not in control even of the cities which were surrendered to him … Egypt was, it is true, in revolt even when Cyrus made his expedition; but … now this

33 Nepos *Datames* 3.

34 Sekunda, "Notes on the *Life of Datames*", 42.

35 Nepos *Datames* 5.

36 I am, however, persuaded of Sekunda's view on the dating of Datames' revolt (368), which Hornblower, *CAH* VI^2, 84–85, places "soon after 372" (*CAH* VI^2, 84–85).

37 Xenophon *Hellenica* 7.1.27; cf. Hornblower, *CAH* VI^2, 85.

38 Isocrates 5 (*To Philip*).100–102.

> King has delivered them from that dread; for after he had brought together and fitted out the largest force he could possibly raise … he retired from Egypt not only defeated, but laughed at and scorned as unfit either to be a king or to command an army. Furthermore, Cyprus and Phoenicia and Cilicia, and that region from which the barbarians used to recruit their fleet, belonged at that time to the King, but now they have either revolted from him or are so involved in war and its attendant ills that none of these peoples is of any use to him.

Isocrates' unfairness lay in his underestimate of the value which Artaxerxes was to find in persistence. His campaigning in the Phoenician region in the 340s, as Briant notes, may have been a historical germ behind the apocryphal story of Judith and Holophernes.[39]

From 343, persistence paid off, and Artaxerxes III was able to carry out "remarkable feats by his own forceful activity."[40] Diodorus' picture is of a patient man who finally got angry.[41] The really striking thing, however, about Diodorus' account is that instead of wars in Greece ending at the Persians' behest, as they had in the 380s to allow Greeks to fight for the king, in 343–342 the fight for Egypt replicated features of the very things war in Greece was about. Pharaoh Nectanebo II had twenty thousand Greek mercenaries on his side.[42] The Spartans and the Athenians had told Artaxerxes III that they were still his friends, but were not going to send him troops.[43] And yet, at Pelusium, a Spartan by the name of Philophron commanded Nectanebo II's garrison (which shows that Sparta would still do unofficially what it would not do officially), and Philophron's men and the Thebans fought each other to a standstill outside the walls, separated only by nightfall. An Egyptian replay of Leuctra and Mantinea.

Artaxerxes' force carried Egypt before it, with Greek and Persian pairs of generals (Lacrates of Thebes paired with Rhosaces, satrap of Ionia and Lydia;[44]

39 Briant, *Cyrus to Alexander*, 1005. On Holophernes, see also D.S. 31.19.2–3, where he is the grandson of Datames, and is "sent to aid the Persians in their war against the Egyptians, and [returns] home laden with honours, which Ochus, the Persian king, bestowed for bravery".

40 D.S. 16.40.3.

41 D.S. 16.40.5.

42 D.S. 16.47.6.

43 D.S. 16.44.1.

44 D.S. 16.47.2.

Nicostratus of Argos, the man who wore a lionskin and carried a club,[45] paired with Aristazanes, the King's usher;[46] Mentor of Rhodes, most formidably, paired with Bagoas, "whom the King trusted most"[47]). But even once Egypt was back in Persian hands, the power of the King and his satrap Pherendates was not unchallenged, as the long biographical inscription on the tomb of Petosiris bears witness:[48]

> I spent seven years as controller for this god [Thoth],
> Administering his endowment without fault being found,
> While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands was Protector in Egypt
> And nothing was in its former place.
> Since fighting had started inside Egypt,
> The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt,
> The people walked with [head turned back],
> The priests fled, not knowing what was happening.

At some date after 343, Khababash set himself up as pharaoh,[49] and had a degree of control in Egypt for two years or so, until Persian power was reasserted. With Phoenicia and Cyprus under their control, the Persians were in a position to attack Egypt at will; an Egyptian ruler who could not follow the example of Tachos and Nectanebo II and confront the Persians in Phoenicia was at a sad disadvantage.

This is the pivotal point in "the fight for Egypt", as the title of this chapter calls it. The failure of the campaign begun in 373 precipitated the satraps' revolts, and over the following generation the fight for Egypt progressed from being a Persian imperial venture, to being wholly a matter of who could put the most effective Greeks on the ground. Artaxerxes III asked the Argives by name for Nicostratus, him of the lionskin and club.[50] Against that background, Alexan-

45 D.S. 16.44.3: Amitay, *From Alexander to Jesus*, 69, sidelines the idea of madness ("this was no lunatic"), and connects Nicostratus' Heracles pose with a broader current in fourth-century ideas (the "fascinating phenomenon of syncretistic self-Divinization").

46 D.S. 16.47.3.

47 D.S. 16.47.4.

48 Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 3, 46.

49 Badian ("Darius III", 252–253) seems tentatively to favour a date for Khababash's reign between 343/2 and 339/8; but Burstein's case for the two years between 338 and 336, made in an article published in the same year as Badian's, is more persuasive ('Prelude to Alexander: the Reign of Khababash', 152).

50 D.S. 16.44.2.

der the Great's campaign after Issus fits the precedent set over the past three decades: the key was Tyre, after the Sidonians had surrendered to Alexander, and it opened the door to Egypt.[51]

Once in command in Memphis (332), Alexander's symbolic actions addressed the idea of a resolution of the fight for Egypt—a resolution, that is, which would entrench in Egypt the Greek life which already existed there. Athletes and performers came from Greece for a gymnastic and musical contest, a site was chosen for Alexandria, and Alexander decided how many temples would be in it, where they would be, and to which Greek deities (and one Egyptian deity, Isis) they would be dedicated.[52] All this symbolic action stood alongside Alexander's demonstrations of positive feeling towards Egyptian tradition and religion—right from his first arrival in Memphis, where he sacrificed to other gods and to Apis.[53] Then, back at Memphis after the journey to Siwa, there was a sacrifice to Zeus the King, and a second athletic and musical contest.[54] If Arrian's idea of a sort of equestrian solution[55] to governing Egypt is a fair picture of how Alexander meant the place to be ruled in his absence, then his thoughts on the subject were complex. His first two nomarchs, between whom he divided the whole of Egypt, were Petisis and Doloaspis—both Egyptian;[56] but complications, not fully explained by Arrian, ensued, and the man who came to the top of the heap of officials he left behind, Cleomenes, referred to as satrap in Pausanias and pseudo-Aristotle,[57] was a Greek from Naukratis—Naukratis, whose vital place in the economic system of post-Persian Egypt is shown by the Nectanebo decree, enacted in 380. The decree says:

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51 Leaving aside the relatively small matters of Gaza, and Alexander's wound in the shoulder (Arrian *Anabasis* 2.25.4–3.1.1).

52 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.1.4–5. "… a totally Hellenic celebration", Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire*, 70, comments: "… no attempt or intention to adopt Egyptian religious ceremonial".

53 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.1.4.

54 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.5.2.

55 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.5.7. About this piece of editorializing, Brunt, Arrian, Loeb edition vol. 1, 237 n. 6, writes, "I doubt … if the comment is [Arrian's]: more probably vulgate". Bosworth, *Commentary on Arrian* vol. 1, 278, observes that by using the term ὕπαρχος not ἔπαρχος for the Prefect of Egypt, "Arrian … has transferred one of his regular words for the satraps of Alexander … to describe the Roman governors of Egypt."

56 Arrian *Anabasis* 3.5.2; note that Doloaspis had a Persian name (cf. Burstein, 'Prelude to Alexander: the Reign of Khababash', 154).

57 Pausanias 1.6.3; [Aristotle] *Oeconomicus* 2.1352a. On Cleomenes cf. Le Rider, "Cléomène de Naucratis".

> His Majesty said, "Let there be given one in ten (of) gold, of silver, of timber, of worked wood, of everything coming from the Sea of the Greeks of all the goods (or: being all the goods) that are reckoned to the king's domain in the town named Hent; and one in ten (of) gold, of silver, of all the things that come into being in Pi-emroye, called (Nau)cratis, on the bank of the Anu, that are reckoned to the king's domain, to be a divine offering for my mother Neith for all time, in addition to what was there before …"

The next chapter in the fight for Egypt, however, was played out almost without violence, in Babylon in 323. When Alexander died, he gave his ring to Perdiccas, which by itself was not enough—but every man has his price, and Alexander's other bodyguards certainly did.[58] Ptolemy's price was the highest, as shown by the fact that the allocation of Egypt to him is mentioned first, both by Arrian and Diodorus.[59] Perdiccas, as regent of the kingdom, was prepared to pay the agreed prices and so purchase responsibility for everything.[60]

Ptolemy moved into Egypt and took over unopposed; and although Cleomenes was made his deputy,[61] Ptolemy (Pausanias says) put Cleomenes to death, "considering him a friend of Perdiccas, and therefore not faithful to himself".[62] By the end of 321, it was clear to Perdiccas and his friends that in order to secure Alexander's undivided empire, a campaign against Ptolemy was the highest priority.[63] The hijack of Alexander's body made it impossible for Perdiccas to ignore the multiple other moves Ptolemy was making to entrench his power, and so Perdiccas staked everything on an invasion of Egypt.[64]

58 All the seven bodyguards benefited from the reshuffle, most becoming satraps. Perdiccas was a bodyguard, and Ptolemy another. On the rest see Arrian *Events after Alexander* 2 (Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Aristonus, Pithon) and D.S. 18.3.1–3 (Pithon, Leonnatus, Lysimachus, Peucestas). See Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 29–63, *contra* a more superficial analysis such as that of Boiy, *Between High and Low*, 130, to the effect that "the … protagonists at the Babylon settlement all received satrapies for their support of Perdiccas".

59 D.S. 18.3.1: "After Perdiccas had assumed the supreme command and had taken counsel with the chief men, he gave Egypt to Ptolemy, son of Lagus …" [etc]. Arrian *Events after Alexander* 5: "Ptolemy son of Lagus was appointed governor of Egypt and Libya, and of that part of Arabia that borders upon Egypt …"

60 D.S. 18.2.3.

61 Arrian *Events after Alexander* 1.5.

62 Pausanias 1.6.3.

63 D.S. 18.25.6.

64 Pausanias 1.6.3 and Arrian *Events after Alexander* 1.25, *contra* the impression left by D.S. 18.28.3 that the funeral cortège was originally bound for Egypt. Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexan-*

The gamble almost paid off. Diodorus echoes a Ptolemaic source by enthusing over Ptolemy's people skills,[65] but Perdiccas followed the oft-repeated and correct method of invading Egypt,[66] and came close to Memphis, where the remains of Alexander were entombed.[67] Ptolemy's heroism in battle (so the Ptolemaic source) at the Fort of Camels was part of a back-to-the-wall struggle to keep Perdiccas' men out of a fortified position,[68] and only a misconceived attempt to ford the Nile near Memphis caused the tide of feeling in Perdiccas' camp to turn. He was murdered by his own officers.[69]

Perdiccas had made a bargain in hopes of gaining the real power of which Alexander's ring was only a shadow. Bosworth explains the bargain in terms of removing rivals and relocating them far from Babylon.[70] Christian A. Caroli analyses the matter differently, arguing that Ptolemy's aim from the beginning was to rule a separate sovereign state.[71] He attributes the same aim, in chronological terms less plausibly, to Seleucus, whom Perdiccas did not remove from Babylon,[72] and to Cassander, who was of no importance until several years later. Ian Worthington puts the transaction at Babylon in the context of long-term ambition on Ptolemy's part towards a takeover of the whole empire.[73]

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der, 13, comments that "Perdiccas had lost the body with all the mystique it invested upon its owner, and he was set on recovering it. That meant war … with Ptolemy …"

65 D.S. 18.33.3–4. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 51, argues that "Diodorus takes up his Ptolemaic source, with its muddled order of events, at 33.1".

66 Cf. Kahn and Tammuz, "Egypt is Difficult to Enter", 55–57 and 65. Fischer-Bovet, discussing Antiochus IV's second-century invasion, is in agreement with Kahn and Tammuz on what was needed to put success within the invader's grasp ("Est-il facile de conquérir l'Égypte?", 210–212).

67 Evidence assembled and interpreted convincingly by Chugg, "Sarcophagus of Alexander the Great?", 14–20.

68 D.S. 18.33.6–34.5.

69 D.S. 18.34.6–36.5; Nepos *Eumenes* 5. Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 14, observes that Perdiccas's chief lieutenants conspired to kill him, and Boiy, *Between High and Low*, 134, comments that Ptolemy's visit on the following day to what had been Perdiccas' camp "suggests that Ptolemy was somehow involved in Perdiccas' assassination". The *cui bono* principle makes this hard to exclude.

70 Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 57; later, Bosworth adds that Perdiccas "profited from the comparative weakness of his rivals and established himself as the leading figure in the empire."

71 Caroli, *Ptolemaios I Soter*, 34.

72 D.S. 18.39.6.

73 Worthington, *Ptolemy I*, 83–86.

The death of Perdiccas was greatly to Ptolemy's advantage, but he still faced a strategic risk—one which the ghosts of Tachos and Nectanebo would have advised him to eliminate. They in their lifetimes had carried the fight against their and Egypt's enemies north into Phoenicia, to keep potential invaders at arm's length. A passage from Appian's *Syriaca* shows that, ghost or no ghost, Ptolemy was aware of the risk and ready to use every means to address it, even money—though violence was also an option. Appian says:[74]

> The first satrap of Syria was Laomedon of Mitylene, who derived his authority from Perdiccas and from Antipater, who succeeded the latter as prime minister. To this Laomedon, Ptolemy, the satrap of Egypt, came with a fleet and offered him a large sum of money if he would hand over Syria to him, because it was well situated for defending Egypt and for attacking Cyprus. When Laomedon refused, Ptolemy seized him. Laomedon bribed his guards and escaped to Alcetas in Caria. Thus Ptolemy ruled Syria for a while, left a garrison there, and returned to Egypt.

Without Appian, it would have remained unknown that Ptolemy was prepared to pay cash, in preference to adding more spear-won territory. This first Ptolemaic annexation of Syria came in 320 after Triparadisus,[75] and went almost unchallenged for five years, even though (as Bosworth notes) it was "generally regarded as unjustifiable."[76] If Laomedon had sold his satrapy for money, grounds for disapproval of the takeover would have seemed weaker. Ptolemy kept Syria until Antigonus had first got the Silver Shields to hand Eumenes to him after the battle of Gabiene in midwinter 317/6,[77] and then dislodged Seleucus from Babylon;[78] but then, in 315–314, Antigonus besieged Tyre for a year and a quarter, until Ptolemy's garrison agreed to evacuate.[79]

Consistent with logic and with strategic precedent, this was the fourth-century fight for Egypt continued. Ptolemy reacted as Egyptian predecessors had, with another military deployment northwards in 312, one which brought

74 Appian *Syriaca* 9.52.

75 D.S. 18.43.2, and cf. Wheatley, "Ptolemy Soter's Annexation of Syria", which shows in addition (pp. 438–439) how numismatic evidence from Sidon implies that Sidon was taken over on Ptolemy's behalf in 320.

76 Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 102; he notes further on (p. 213) that Eumenes "denounced the annexation as soon as he became royal general in Asia" (cf. D.S. 18.73.2).

77 D.S. 19.43.8, following Boiy's chronology, *Between High and Low*, 140 and 149.

78 D.S. 19.55.2–5.

79 D.S. 19.61.5.

victory in battle at Gaza against Demetrius Poliorcetes,[80] and created conditions allowing Seleucus to take over again at Babylon and inaugurate the Seleucid era.[81] Ptolemy himself had moved to occupy Syria as a whole,[82] but decided against fighting Antigonus for it, and retreated to Egypt after demolishing the defences of four cities in the hope of eliminating the threat Syria could pose.[83] The victory in battle, and the damage to Acre, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza, were in view when the Satrap Stele in 310 claimed that

> When he marched with his men to the Syrians' land, who were at war with him, he penetrated its interior, his courage was as mighty as the eagle amongst the young birds. He took them at one stroke, he led their princes, their cavalry, their ships, their works of art, all to Egypt.[84]

Victory in the third Diadoch war, however, did not entail permanent victory in the fight for Egypt; and Bosworth appears overly sanguine when he writes of Ptolemy withdrawing "to fortress Egypt" after the brief glories of the year of Gaza.[85] The so-called fortress was far from impregnable. Antigonus, starting in 307, built Antigonia on the Orontes river,[86] a little way upstream from where Antioch was later to be sited; and then in 306 Demetrius conquered Cyprus, key to the downwind sea passage into Egypt. Antigonia was the mustering-place in the following year for Antigonus' invasion force, which did little more than pause at Gaza.[87] As the army moved into Egypt, Ptolemy again used money to make friends, inducing some to change sides,[88] and he combined attractive offers with careful defensive preparations which caused the invasion force to run out of steam—Antigonus agreed with advisers who spoke in favour of retreating and returning when the Nile was lower.[89] It was party time for Ptolemy, who "made a thank-offering to the gods, [and] entertained his friends

80 D.S. 19.80.3–86.3; Plutarch *Demetrius* 5.

81 D.S. 19.86.4 and 90.1–91.5.

82 See Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 228–230.

83 D.S. 19.93.7.

84 Satrap Stele 23–26: the reference to "their princes", however, perhaps refers mostly to Laomedon.

85 Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 229.

86 D.S. 20.47.5.

87 D.S. 20.73.2–3.

88 D.S. 20.75.1–3.

89 D.S. 20.76.1–5.

lavishly".[90] This, to him, was the end of the "second struggle for Egypt", and he wrote to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander publicizing his success: "convinced that the country was his as a prize of war, [he] returned to Alexandria."[91]

Here, in 306, the story of the Greek wars and the fight for Egypt almost comes to a close, regardless of Demetrius' naval victory over Ptolemy at Salamis.[92] In the following year, Ptolemy declared himself king. Just one twist of fate was left before the task of securing Egypt for an Egyptian-based dynasty was completed. Antigonus had retreated, plotting his return, though afterwards Rhodes caused him more difficulty than expected; but then, a coalition of the other Successors held together long enough to defeat Antigonus and Demetrius in 301 at Ipsus.[93] Ptolemy had agreed to help Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus, but his army was not in the Ipsus campaign; and before the fighting was over, he had moved against Phoenicia.[94] At the cost to Ptolemy of creating a diplomatic conundrum which courtiers were still squabbling over decades later,[95] Phoenicia and the Holy Land were firmly in Ptolemaic hands. Greek wars were not over yet, but the fight for Egypt was won.

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90 D.S. 20.76.6.

91 D.S. 20.76.7.

92 D.S. 20.49.1–52.6.

93 Plutarch *Demetrius* 29.1–5.

94 D.S. 20.113.1–2; Plutarch *Demetrius* 35.3.

95 Polybius 5.67.6–10, and Bosworth, *Legacy of Alexander*, 261 n. 58: "The rights and wrongs of it were still debated 80 years later: the Seleucids stressed the decision of the allies at Ipsus to place Coele Syria in Seleucus' hands, while the Ptolemies maintained that Seleucus had promised the area to Ptolemy when he joined the coalition."

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CHAPTER 3

Soter and the Calendars

† Chris Bennett

1 Calendars in Egypt: The *longue durée*

When Soter took on the administration of Egypt, he inherited a country with a strong and ancient bureaucratic tradition. A key tool, perhaps *the* key tool, in enabling the success of pharaonic administration was the Egyptian civil calendar, which Otto Neugebauer famously, if somewhat hyperbolically, described as "the only intelligent calendar which ever existed in human history".[1] It consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, with five extra days, making up the 365-day "wandering" year, so-called because it drifts or wanders by about a day every four years against the sun. As a measure of the solar year, this is not very accurate, but it was certainly good enough for managing the agricultural needs of Egyptian society over the course of an ordinary human lifetime. And, for the state bureaucracy, it had the unique practical advantages of being extremely simple and highly predictable, which allowed it to be uniformly applied throughout the country with no central intervention.

The Egyptian calendar was already immensely old: the five extra days are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom.[2] The earliest calendar date currently known is a worker's graffito in the Step Pyramid of Djoser, some 2500 years before Soter's time.[3] Although the calendar was extremely stable, it was not static. In the Old Kingdom, the Egyptians identified years according to the number of cattle counts which had occurred since the start of a reign; thereafter they used regnal years.[4] In the New Kingdom, the names of some months were changed,[5] and New Year's Day was changed from 1 Thoth to the anniversary of the king's accession, only to be changed back by the Saite kings some 900 years later.[6] Also in the New Kingdom, the start of the lunar religious year

1 Neugebauer, *Exact Sciences*, 81. See now Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, on the sociopolitical contexts of the various calendars of the ancient world.
2 Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science II*, 28–29 summarizes the documentary evidence.
3 Hornung et al., "Methods of Dating", 47.
4 Hornung et al., "Methods of Dating", 45–46.
5 Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, 45–46.
6 Gardiner, "Regnal Years and Civil Calendar".

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may have been realigned from the heliacal rising of Sirius to 1 Thoth: a more significant change, but one which did not affect the civil calendar.[7] Yet none of these changes affected the structure of the Egyptian calendar year, which was the same in Soter's time as it had been in Djoser's.

The Macedonians were not the first foreign rulers to bring their own calendar to Egypt.[8] A fragment of Manetho describes a calendar reform instituted by the Hyksos king Salitis. This story probably reflects a decision by Salitis—whoever he was exactly—to forgo a native Hyksos lunar calendar and to adopt the Egyptian civil one.[9] Over a thousand years later, the Persians brought the Babylonian calendar to Egypt. This calendar is well-documented in double-dated Aramaic texts,[10] but it seems to have made almost no impact on the Egyptians. They were certainly aware of it, and attempted to relate Babylonian months to Egyptian concepts: in the Vienna demotic omen papyrus, named Babylonian months are identified by the term *wrš*, which ordinarily refers to the months of temple service starting, like the Babylonian month, with a nominal new moon, on the second day of the Egyptian lunar month.[11] But, as with the Hyksos, calendrical influence ran more strongly in the other direction: the Zoroastrian calendar was probably drawn from the Egyptian model.[12]

The Macedonian calendar in Egypt eventually suffered the same fate as that of the Hyksos. The signs that this would happen appear very early in the record. One of the earliest Macedonian/Egyptian double dates that we currently possess, given by pHibeh I 92 from 264 BCE, already directly equates a Macedonian month (Xandikos) to an Egyptian month (Phamenoth), and this practice becomes almost universal outside Alexandria only 50 years later. After another 70 years, there are no traces at all of the Macedonian calendar operat-

7 Most recently Depuydt "Twice Helix to Double Helix". The existence of a lunar calendar year, as opposed to lunar days, whether aligned to Sirius or to the civil year, is still a controversial question, cf. Spalinger, "Ancient Egyptian Calendars: How Many Were There?" (against the civil alignment) and Belmonte, "Egyptian Calendar", 82–87 (against both). For a brief overview of the civil year question see Krauss, "Lunar Days, Lunar Months", 389–391.

8 I know of no evidence for the calendars of the Libyans and Kushites before they ruled Egypt. Both groups had already been heavily acculturated, so it is likely that any native calendar had already been discarded before they came to power.

9 Spalinger, "Chronological Remarks", 52–54.

10 The Elephantine double dates are listed in Stern, "Babylonian Calendar at Elephantine", 62–63 (Table 1).

11 Parker, *Vienna Demotic Papyrus*, 8 n. 18.

12 de Blois, "Persian Calendar", 48–50, Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, 174–178.

ing independently of the Egyptian one, although Macedonian month names for Egyptian months continued to be used in Egypt occasionally until the end of the fourth century AD.[13]

2 Calendars in Greece and Macedon: The Challenge of Empire

Soter came to Egypt equipped with Greek modes of thinking about calendars. These were very different from Egyptian ones, and from our own. Firstly, there was no single Greek calendar. Greek calendars were highly localized: each city or league had its own, with its own month names, new years and specialized customs. Most Greek calendars, including the Macedonian, were based on a lunar year, throwing in an extra month every few years to maintain an alignment with the seasons, but not with each other.[14] Calendar dates could be adjusted *ad hoc* to meet immediate needs. Days could be inserted to ensure that there was time for everything to be in place for a festival which had to be celebrated on a particular calendar date: we possess an Athenian date of the eighth repetition of 25 Hekatombaion.[15] The months could also be manipulated: Plutarch (*Demetrius* 26) records that in 303 the Athenians renamed Mounichion, the tenth month, first as Anthesterion, the eighth, and then as Boedromion, the third, so that Demetrius Poliorcetes could be initiated into all degrees of the Mysteries in the proper sequence without waiting a year.

No such *tours de force* are reported for the Macedonians. This is probably because the length of the Athenian year was fixed in advance by the constitutional needs of the prytanies, while the calendar months were primarily used to regulate religious festivals.[16] Hence, as long as the sum of the month lengths matched the length of the prytany year, the length of an individual month could

13 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 7.

14 Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 27–33.

15 For this and other such dates see Pritchett, *Athenian Calendars*, 6–7.

16 Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 58, 64. Stern (*Calendars in Antiquity*, 48) correctly notes that the idea that the lengths of the prytanies and the number of months in the year were determined before its start is not proven, but the potential for political wrangling if they were not seems so great that it seems most likely; cf. also Pritchett, *Athenian Calendars*, 127–135. While there are several documented instances of tampering with the lengths of calendar months, the only documented case of tampering with the prytany calendar in Hellenistic times, in 296/5 (Habicht, *Athens from Alexander to Antony*, 88), clearly reflects an extraordinary circumstance: the collapse of the tyranny of Lachares and the city's capitulation to Demetrius (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 33–34).

be adjusted as needed. Lacking a similar division between a civil year and a religious year, the Macedonian calendar served both purposes and so retained an essentially lunar structure for its months. However, Plutarch (*Alexander* 16.2, 25) records two well-known acts of Alexander which show a similar willingness to tamper with the calendar, though in a much less extreme form. On the day of the battle of the Granicus, some in the army objected to fighting in the current month—Daisios—because it was not customary to fight in that month: Alexander simply renamed it to be a second occurrence of Artemisios, the previous month. And, at the siege of Tyre a couple of years later, he renumbered the current day, the last day of the month, to be the previous day, in order to encourage his troops to press the siege to a conclusion in that month.

Such flexible attitudes towards dating were practicable, even useful, in a city-state like Athens, or in a small loosely-knit pastoral kingdom like Macedon as it was before the reigns of Philip and Alexander. Large states like the Persian Empire, or even large provinces like Egypt, could not be managed on this basis, owing to the synchronization issues created by the extensive delays in communicating information over long distances. We can trace the difficulties in the archive of the Persian garrison on Egypt's southern border at Elephantine. The double dates in these documents sometimes show misalignments of one month with the months of Babylon. These appear to result from the sequence in Elephantine temporarily diverging from the Babylonian sequence.[17]

The Achaemenids had addressed this problem by exploiting, possibly even sponsoring, ongoing astronomical research aimed at optimizing the date of the start of the Babylonian year against the vernal equinox. Modern research in the Babylonian astronomical records has allowed us to trace this effort in some detail.[18] The start of the first month of the Babylonian year had been stabilized against the vernal equinox by the early fifth century. From this time on, the Babylonian calendar used a fixed nineteen-year cycle with seven intercalary years. The pattern of intercalary months was fixed by the early fourth century. In six intercalary years the extra month was placed at the end of the year. In the seventh, it was placed after the sixth month. This sequence became standardized throughout the empire, allowing intercalation to take place automatically in the same month everywhere, without the need for central intervention.[19]

The Babylonians also developed methods for predicting whether a given lunation would be twenty-nine or thirty days long.[20] However, the available

17 Stern, "Babylonian Calendar at Elephantine", 167–168.

18 E.g. Britton, "Calendars, Intercalations and Year-Lengths in Mesopotamian Astronomy".

19 The evidence is briefly summarized by Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, 186.

20 Stern, "Babylonian Month", 28–30 on the accuracy of Babylonian predictions; Depuydt,

data on the astronomical accuracy of both Macedonian and Egyptian lunar months suggests that these techniques were not widely used to regulate their lengths.[21] As a result, even though adoption of the Babylonian calendar meant that different cities and provinces would agree on the name of the month, there might well be a variation between them of a day or two in the date within the month. Given communication speeds at the time, synchronization errors of this magnitude were perfectly acceptable.

Alexander's insertion of a day at Tyre, therefore, would have been entirely tolerable to an Achaemenid bureaucrat. While we do not know the original length of the month involved, he may well simply have lengthened it from 29 days to 30. However, renaming Daisios mid-month as a second Artemisios would have been another matter, especially if the effect was to lengthen the year by turning that month into an intercalary month. At the time, Alexander was close enough to home that the decision might have been communicated to Macedon in time for it to take effect there in the same month; but had he made such a decision in, say, Bactria, there would have been a difference of one month between the calendars used in different parts of his empire for at least several months.

If Macedonian ideas of time were subject to any foreign influence under Philip and Alexander, that influence would not have been Babylonian, and still less Egyptian, but Athenian. We can trace a direct Athenian influence on the Macedonian calendar in the occasional use of a φθίνοντος or "waning" count of days at the end of Macedonian months, seen in an Amphipolitan inscription dating to Philip, in Plutarch's extracts from the Ephemerides (*Alexander* 76), and in an Alexandrian inscription and a papyrus dating to Ptolemy II.[22] Moreover, Alexander encouraged the research of Callisthenes, who sent Babylonian astronomical data to Athens, and Soter sponsored Timocharis, who used an astronomical Athenian calendar. Both rulers were surely aware of the Metonic cycle for regulating the length of the Athenian year, and of the efforts of Callippus to develop an astronomical calendar which accurately modelled the lengths of individual lunations.[23] However, Alexander's tamperings with the

"Why Greek Lunar Months Began a Day Later …", 156–158 for a proposed empirical method of prediction.

21 Bennett, "Egyptian Lunar Dates", 2011: 47 with Figure 3.

22 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 35–37. The term is recorded in only seven non-Athenian and non-Macedonian dates in the PHI database, three of which are Mysian. Even in Athens it was no longer used after the fourth century (Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 59–61).

23 Callisthenes and the transmission of Babylonian astronomical data to Athens: Simpli-

months, and the use of biennial intercalation under Philadelphus, show that none of this had any effect on how the Macedonian calendar was managed in the late fourth century.

Though the Macedonian calendar was not tightly regulated, it was consciously used as an instrument of policy in conquered territories in Greece. The earliest Macedonian dates we currently possess come from Amphipolis, shortly after its conquest by Philip in 357. Cassandreia also used Macedonian months after Antigonus Gonatas extinguished its freedom in 276. But Cassandreia had been founded as a free city by Cassander in 316. Between its foundation and the loss of its freedom, it had used a different calendar, in which the months were named after twelve Olympian gods. The same type of calendar was used in other free cities founded by Macedonian kings: in Philippi, founded by Philip II, and in Demetrias, founded by Demetrius I. We do not know how autonomous these Olympian calendars truly were: whether all free cities used the same month names, and whether their intercalations and their years were tied to the Macedonian calendar, or whether they operated independently of it. Nevertheless, the general policy is clear—the Macedonian calendar was imposed on conquered Greek cities and was a mark of their incorporation into the Macedonian state.[24]

After Alexander, the Macedonian calendar was used in new Greek settlements from Egypt to Bactria.[25] This is consistent with the usual belief that these settlements were originally conceived of as specifically Macedonian, not autonomous cities. It also recasts the problem of coordination which had faced the Persians into Macedonian terms: it would now have been necessary to coordinate calendars to maintain reliable communications between these far-flung outposts.

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cius, *Commentarii in Aristotelis de Caelo* II 12 (cf. Burstein, "Callisthenes and Babylonian Astronomy"); Timocharis: Almagest 7.3, 10.4 (cf. van der Waerden, "Greek Astronomical Calendars" on Timocharis' Athenian dates); Metonic cycle: Diodorus Siculus 12.36 (cf. Morgan, "Calendar and the Chronology of Athens", and Lambert, "Athenian Chronology 352/1–322/1 BC", on its application to the length of the Athenian year); Callippus: Geminus 8.59 (cf. Goldstein and Bowen, "Early Hellenistic Astronomy", 279 on the choice of epoch for the first Callippic cycle).

24 Hatzopolous, *Macedonian Institutions*, I 156–165, 182, 202–204; cf. Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 135.

25 I know of two recorded Macedonian month names from Hellenistic Bactria: a tax receipt dated Oloios year 4 of Antimachus (Rea et al., "Tax Receipt from Hellenistic Bactria"), and a date stamp of Xandikos on a unique coin of Antiochus I (or II?) (Senior and Houghton, "Two Remarkable Bactrian Coins"); my thanks to Harry Falk (pers. comm. February 2011) for bringing the latter to my attention.

This is surely why Seleucus Nicator reformed the calendar in his territories shortly after the foundation of Antioch. We only know of his reform from a late, brief, and garbled description (Malalas 8.16). This is unfortunate, in part because, under Antiochus I, it led to the creation of the chronographic instrument which is, at least for historians, perhaps the most important calendrical invention of recorded time: the Era, which accounts years from a single fixed reference point, instead of from the accessions of individual kings, or by the names of some eponymous official.

It is generally held that Nicator adapted the Macedonian calendar to the Babylonian nineteen-year cycle by equating the first Macedonian month, Dios, to the seventh Babylonian month, Tashritu, and intercalating in sync.[26] This may not be correct. In Arsacid times, the Macedonian calendar was aligned by equating Dios with the eighth Babylonian month, Arahsamnu,[27] and two letters of Antiochus III suggest that he already observed the same concordance at the end of the third century.[28] On the other hand, the solar alignment of the synchronisms for the dates of Alexander's birth and death are a month earlier than this concordance,[29] and a cycle based on keeping Dios as close as possible to the autumn equinox by equating it to Tashritu in all but three years of the

26 Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology*, 26; Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, 142.

27 Assar, "Parthian Calendars"; Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 190–197.

28 Correcting the discussion in Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 202–208; my thanks to Farhad Assar for pointing out the error (pers. comm. October 2011). Since there are at least two full months between Xandikos 23 and Panemos 10 SEM 119 = 194/3, not one, the minimum time for transmitting the letter SEG XIII 592 from western Anatolia to Ecbatana is about 74 days, not 45. This implies a maximum speed of about 23 miles a day, which precludes the use of a "pony express" as suggested in Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 204–205 and is consistent with foot messengers. For the decree of SEG XXXVII 1010 to reach Sardis from Ecbatana at the same speed, there must have been an intercalary month between Dystros and Artemisios SEM 103 = 210/9, hence after either Dystros or Xandikos. SEM 103 and SEM 119 are both ordinary years on the autumn cycle developed in Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 208–212, but both are intercalary on the spring (Babylonian) cycle. If SEM 119 was in fact intercalary, SEG XIII 592 suggests that its intercalary month lay outside the range Xandikos to Panemos: the overlap with SEG XXXVII 1010 implies an intercalary Dystros in both years, which matches the practice of Parthian times.

29 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 92–98. Since Alexander's birth, in Loios 356, and death, in Daisios 323, both occurred less than six months after a Babylonian Addaru II, their dates are not conclusive proof that their solar alignment is the normal alignment of the Argaead calendar: considered in isolation, these alignments could be due to phase variance in intercalation, with a Macedonian intercalation lagging the Babylonian. Other events of the period cannot be fixed with the same degree of certainty. However, the assassination

nineteen matches a considerable amount of non-Seleucid and post-Seleucid data.[30] However, no matter which of these systems Nicator adopted, if any, it does seem clear that his reform, driven by practical necessity, automated the operation of the Macedonian calendar in Seleucid territories, at least down to the sequence of months.

3 The Macedonian Calendar in Soter's Egypt

Very few Macedonian dates are known from Soter's rule in Egypt. The principal conclusions that can be drawn from them are that he accounted his Macedonian regnal years from the death of Alexander, and that he did so well before he took the diadem.[31] Except for one seasonal synchronism, none of his Macedonian dates can be synchronized to the Egyptian or to any other calendar. For this reason, important aspects of his calendrical practices must be inferred from the available data for succeeding rulers and from Macedon itself.

The bulk of our Egyptian data comes from papyri of the reigns of Ptolemy II, III and IV. These provide a large number of Egyptian/Macedonian double dates. It has proved extremely difficult to devise a model which accounts for them all, so much so that Samuel essentially gave up on the reigns of Ptolemy III and IV. However, the volume and density of the double dates in the well-known archive of Zenon, which covers the last 15 years of Ptolemy II and the first few of Ptolemy III, have always admitted analysis, and the results which Edgar published in 1918 remain substantially valid.[32]

The Zenon archive showed that calendar months in Alexandria were lunar, with an astronomical accuracy of about fifty-five per cent, which matches that seen in the Ptolemaic and Roman data for Egyptian lunar months, although it is considerably lower than that achieved by the Babylonian astronomers.[33] Yet, although Zenon had worked with the lunar calendar at the highest levels of the state bureaucracy before he was sent to the Fayum, once there he estimated Alexandrian dates by offsetting the start of the nearest Egyptian month by 0, 10 or 20 days, and within a couple of years he gave up even trying. Similar inaccuracy, though usually less systematic, characterizes the bulk of the dou-

of Philip II, which probably occurred in late summer and at the start of Dios, appears to show the Dios = Tashritu alignment even though it is two years after an Addaru II.

30 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 212–217.

31 Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 11–13.

32 Edgar, "Dating of Early Ptolemaic Papyri".

33 Bennett, "Egyptian Lunar Dates", and *Alexandria and the Moon*, 47 with Figure 3.

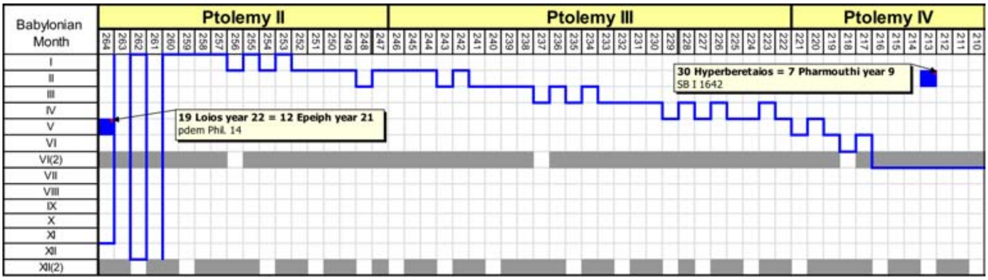

FIGURE 3.1 *Drift of Ptolemaic Dystros 1 against the Babylonian Calendar 264–210*
Note: After Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 240–247 (Table 12). The cited double dates are the first and the last covering the documented period of excessive intercalation. The detailed reconstruction is my own, but any other in the literature shows the same general trend.

ble dates from the Egyptian chora. Greeks outside Alexandria did not maintain lunar accuracy, presumably because they did not need to: an estimate of the nearest lunation seems to have been good enough. There is no reason to doubt that both characteristics apply to the calendar under Soter.

Zenon's archive showed two unexpected features. First, Ptolemy II's Macedonian year did not begin in Dios. Instead, it began in late Dystros, nearly 5 months later. Edgar concluded that this marked an important anniversary for Philadelphus, though he dithered between the anniversaries of his birth, his coregency with his father, and his father's death.[34] But this custom was not Philadelphus' invention: Soter's year most probably began at the end of Daisios, marking the anniversary of Alexander's death.[35]

Secondly, the Zenon papyri showed that an intercalary month was inserted every other year. They document this explicitly in the 250s, and we need to assume intercalation at the same average rate to explain the double dates of both the next forty-five years and of Ptolemy II's year 22 = 264/3. This remarkable practice caused the calendar year to slip by about a month every eight years against the sun. Figure 3.1 shows how Dystros slipped by some *seven* months against the Babylonian calendar from 264 to 210, the period when the average rate of intercalation was biennial.

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34 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 55–56.

35 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 162–171. The date must lie between Artemisios and Hyperberetaios from pEleph. 3 and pEleph. 4. However the argument usually cited for this (Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 20–24) is not conclusive. Rather, the result follows from considering the relationship of these papyri to the New Year of Ptolemy II.

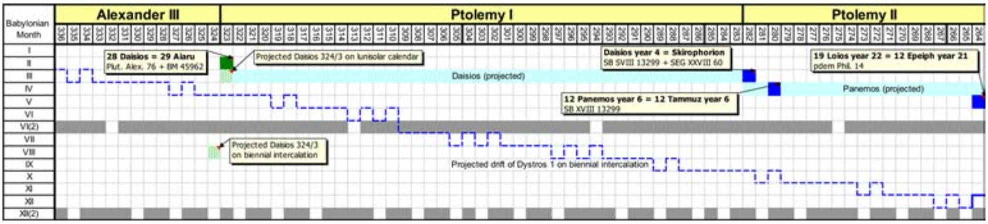

FIGURE 3.2 *Biennial intercalation vs lunisolar alignment 336–264*

Samuel supposed that both features represented ancestral Macedonian custom, and Ptolemaicists have generally taken him at his word. However, other Hellenists almost universally assume that the ancestral Macedonian year always started in Dios, and that it was always aligned to the sun, however loosely. If so, then both features were Ptolemaic innovations, made either by Soter or by his son. We can reformulate this proposal into two specific questions: did Soter also practice biennial intercalation? And, are there any traces of either custom in the Macedonian record?

The earliest Macedonian/Egyptian double dates we possess for Ptolemy II are from his Macedonian year 22 = 264/3, and are consistent with the biennial intercalation documented in the Zenon papyri. But the idea that the Macedonians intercalated every other year cannot be reconciled with the month of Alexander's death, Daisios. We know from Babylonian sources that he died at the end of Aiaru, on 11 June 323,[36] As shown in Figure 3.2, if biennial intercalation was practiced from 323 to 264 then Daisios 323 should have fallen in October/November 324, seven months earlier than it did. If, however, the Macedonian calendar was originally lunisolar and the solar alignment of Alexander's time is projected forwards, biennial intercalation must have been introduced around the mid-260s, shortly before the first appearance of Macedonian/Egyptian double dates.

This model is confirmed by a double-dated ostracon found at Khirbet el-Kôm in ancient Idumea, which equates Panemos to Tammuz in Philadelphus' year 6 = 280/79.[37] This shows the same solar alignment as the earliest precise double date, given by odem Phil 14: Loios 19 year 22 = Epeiph 12 year 21 = 4 September 264. It is likely that the date of Soter's funeral games, subsequently regarded as the first Ptolemaieia, shows the same solar alignment.[38] Thus, bien-

36 Depuydt, "Time of Death of Alexander", and *From Xerxes' Murder (465) to Arridaios' Execution (317)*, 47–51; cf. Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 41 n. 36, 125 n. 121.

37 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 102–105.

38 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 105–124.

nial intercalation did not begin until the middle of the reign of Philadelphus, and was not practiced by his father.

While the Macedonian calendar was lunisolar until the third decade of Ptolemy II, it appears that its solar alignment at the start of his reign had slipped by a month from Alexander's time. We cannot say with any certainty when or why this happened. A seasonal synchronism given by pHibeh I 84a, a harvest contract from very near the end of Soter's reign, suggests, but does not prove, that it had not yet occurred.[39] If so, then the extra month was probably inserted by his son very shortly after he became sole king; perhaps he did it to buy an extra month to organize his father's funeral games as a pan-Hellenic event.

The evidence suggests, then, that Soter did not change the frequency of intercalation, though he may have added one month too many. But did he change the basis for the Macedonian year? Though the evidence on this point is less clear, it seems likely that he did not, and that Samuel was correct to suppose that Macedonian kings had always based their years on the anniversary of their ascension to power. The best evidence to date comes from two inscriptions of Philip V which, in combination, appear to require that his regnal year started between Panemos and Hyperberetaios.[40] This rules out a year beginning in Dios and almost certainly means his year was based on the anniversary of his accession. If the Ptolemies and the Antigonids both accounted their years this way, then it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this was indeed the traditional method of accounting years, and that Soter did not change it.

One other aspect of Soter's Macedonian calendar arguably shows innovation: his count of years. The Seleucid Era is based on the date of Seleucus' return to Babylon in the spring of 311, and marks his assumption of power as satrap, not as king. The papyrus pEleph. 1 is dated to Dios year 7 of Alexander IV as king and year 14 of Ptolemy as satrap, demonstrating that Soter had also started counting his Macedonian years from his appointment as satrap by 310. But the cuneiform data shows that Seleucus initially used the regnal years of Alexander IV, occasionally adding his name as strategos. He did not use Seleucid Era years till he took the title of king in 305.[41] While as yet we have no data allowing us to confirm that the same was true of his Macedonian years, if we suppose it was then it seems that Seleucus was following Ptolemy's lead, since Soter had started counting his years as satrap at least five years before Seleucus began to do so.

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39 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 98–99, 123–124.

40 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 150–151.

41 Boiy, "Local and Imperial Dates", 18 n. 27.

Again, it turns out that Ptolemy's dates were not an innovation.[42] Cuneiform and Aramaic dates of Antigonus I from as early as 315 show that he too did not account his years from his kingship, but as strategos, starting in 317 with the death of Philip III. While as yet we have no dated Greek inscription of Antigonus, an inscription from Beroia in Macedon is dated to year 27 of a king Demetrius, most likely Demetrius I, showing that he also dated his years from 317. We also do not yet have any dated inscriptions for Lysimachus or Cassander, but the nineteen years which Porphyry assigns to Cassander suggest that he also based his years from his assumption of power, not from his assumption of the title of king.

This custom also has counterparts in earlier and later Macedonian practice.[43] Philip II probably, and Antigonus III certainly, both accounted their years from their appointment as guardian of a minor king, even though they themselves took the royal title some time later. On the other hand, although Perdiccas III and Philip V had nominally become kings as minors, their years were accounted from the time they actually came to power. Even the posthumous dates that the Babylonian records show for Philip III and that both Babylonian and Egyptian records show for Alexander IV may have analogies in earlier Macedonian practice: both Philip II and Alexander III continued minting coins of their predecessors several years into their own reigns, and it is well known that their own coinage continued to be minted long after their deaths.

All indications are, then, that Soter used the Macedonian calendar throughout his reign exactly as it had been used in the Macedon of his youth. In contrast to Seleucus, he made no effort at all to adapt it for use in the country he ruled. It is therefore no surprise that his Greek papyri include dates from his fortieth and forty-first years, at a time when he had already turned some, though not all, of the reins of power over to his son. Although the number of dated Greek documents we possess from his reign remains frustratingly small, it is also perhaps not surprising that none of them contains an Egyptian date. Soter's Macedonian calendar was the calendar of Alexandria: it was of the Macedonians, it was for the Macedonians, and it was used by the Macedonians.

42 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 153–156.

43 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 141–142.

4 The Egyptian Calendar in Soter's Egypt

With one exception, this is also what we see in the Egyptian data: Soter's Egyptian calendar was that of the Egyptians, it was for the Egyptians, and it was used by the Egyptians. His Egyptian documents are dated by the nominal king: first Philip III, then Alexander IV. Only after he took the royal title do we see Egyptian documents in his name. For the next two decades, the count of his Egyptian years was some 20 years behind that of his Macedonian years: almost all the dated demotic documents of his reign are dated from years 1 to 21, not 21 to 41.[44]

The one exception appears in that area of government most critical to its survival: taxation. Muhs' study of early Ptolemaic tax receipts has shown that Ptolemy II reformed the taxation system around his twenty-first year, when the earlier *nḥb* and *nḥt* taxes were replaced by the salt tax.[45] The Greek financial year, starting around the beginning of the Egyptian month of Mecheir, was probably introduced at the same time. This year seems to be related to a pre-existing Egyptian tax year that had also started about Mecheir but was numbered one year later.[46]

Although Soter's taxation system is largely unknown, it is reasonable to suppose that the system of Philadelphus' early years was a continuation of that of Soter's final years. Two of the ostraca Muhs studied were receipts for *nḥb* taxes of years 30 and 33.[47] These dates can only reflect the Macedonian regnal years of Ptolemy I. That is, it appears that Soter's tax year was based on his Macedonian year, not the Egyptian year, even though it was tied to the Egyptian calendar.

Except for the management of state taxes, then, the calendrical data indicates that Soter largely left the Egyptian bureaucracy to its own devices, receiving at best general direction from the Macedonian overlords. For the bulk of his reign, the Macedonian and Egyptian calendrical systems existed side-by-side, operating almost entirely independently of each other.

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44 Depauw et al., *Chronological Survey of Precisely Dated Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic Sources*, 31–34.

45 Muhs, *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes*, 29.

46 Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, 38–39; Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 99–102. The precise start of the Greek financial year is still uncertain. All Greek data from the reign of Ptolemy II is consistent with a date around the start of Mecheir, conventionally Mecheir 1, but under Ptolemy III and IV the financial year certainly started in Tybi. If, as argued here, the tax year was related to the Macedonian year, the Egyptian date may not have been fixed.

47 odem Louvre 1424 and 87; cf. Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 101 n. 53.

5 The Calendars and the Coregency

The fact that the Egyptian tax year was based on Soter's Macedonian regnal year, rather than his Egyptian one, explains why Philadelphus' tax year began in Mecheir both before and after the tax reform of year 21. That month corresponds roughly to the latter part of the Macedonian month of Dystros or to Xandikos in the first two decades of his reign, covering the anniversaries of both his coregency, on Dystros 12, and his father's death, at the end of Dystros. Thus Philadelphus' tax year was already derived from the Macedonian calendar before the reform of year 21. Moreover, since we possess *nḥb* tax receipts from years 1 to 3, his tax year must already have been adopted before his father's death—that is, the collection of taxes was one of his responsibilities as coregent.

This tax year has two odd characteristics. Before the reform of year 21, it started five months after the start of the corresponding Egyptian year, while after that year it started seven months before the start of the corresponding Egyptian year. Furthermore, considered as a Macedonian year, it ran one year behind the Philadelphus' regnal year.

The question of how Ptolemy II counted his years has been much debated. At some point both his Egyptian and his Macedonian years were counted from the year he was made his father's coregent, in Dystros (February or March) 284. It was long held that he initially counted both years from Soter's death in late Dystros 282, and only switched to the other system some years later. However, Hazzard and Grzybek have shown that his Macedonian years were accounted from the year of coregency in the first year of his sole rule.[48] But if taxation years

48 Hazzard, "Regnal Years of Ptolemy II", and Grzybek, *Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolémaïque*, 124–129. Hazzard's analysis depends in part on a series of alphabetic control marks on a particular group of tetradrachms of Ptolemy II which Svoronos had interpreted as regnal years. In particular, he argued ("Regnal Years of Ptolemy II", 144–145) that a transition from Α to Δ indicated that Philadelphus had switched from accession dating to coregency dating shortly after his accession. However, 53 tetradrachms found in the important Meydancıkkale hoard showed non-consecutive values of these marks (Α-Ε-Ι-Ο-Ρ-Υ), even though there are obverse die links involving up to three of them (Davesne and Le Rider, *Meydancıkkale*, I 174–175, 275–277; my thanks to Catharine Lorber [pers. comm. August 2011] for the reference. Hazzard [*Imagination of a Monarchy*, 18], noted Davesne's analysis, but continued to rely on Svoronos' interpretation without further discussion.) Whatever their true purpose, therefore, these marks cannot indicate regnal years. Hence there is no longer any evidence that Ptolemy II changed the basis of his regnal years after his accession to sole rule. However, although the coins cited in Hazzard, "Regnal Years of Ptolemy II", 156–159 must be removed as evidence, the epigraphic and papyrological data

FIGURE 3.3 *Tax years and regnal years of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II during the coregency*

were also Macedonian years, also counted from the coregency, it seems at first sight hard to understand why the two series should have different numbers for the same year.

The explanation lies in the fact that Philadelphus was made coregent on 12 Dystros in his father's year 39, in early 284, while his father died on or very shortly after 27 Dystros in his year 41, just over two years later. The two dates are very close together, but if we take 27 Dystros in 282 as the start of his fourth year then 12 Dystros in 284 falls almost at the very end of a notional first year starting on 27 Dystros 285. Therefore, tax year numbers based, however notionally, on the anniversary of the coregency, on 12 Dystros, will be almost exactly a year behind the regnal year numbers based on 27 Dystros, which is exactly what the taxation ostraca appear to show before year 21. The discrepancy was remedied as part of the taxation reform of that year, by the creation of a formal Greek financial year whose year number matched the regnal year. The relationship between Philadelphus' tax years, his retroactive Macedonian regnal years and Soter's regnal years is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

cited by Hazzard and Grzybek is sufficient to establish that coregency dating was used for Macedonian years from year 4 = 282/1 onwards.

Although Hazzard and Grzybek settled the basis of his Macedonian years, the question of how Philadelphus accounted his Egyptian years remained open. It was long believed that he switched from an accession-based to a coregency-based Egyptian system only in his year 16, which was followed by year 19. Muhs has argued that the *nḥb* and *nḥt* tax receipts showed that his Egyptian years were also accounted from the coregency at the start of his reign, since we have receipts for virtually all tax years up to year 21, including the first three, and the dates in the receipts are correlated to Egyptian years starting in Thoth by year number.[49] However evidence from the transitional period, some of which was cited by Samuel and Glanville but overlooked in Muhs' discussion, speaks in favour of a more complicated picture.

Greek documents recognized Soter as king till the end of his days, and Philadelphus did not use Macedonian regnal years till after his father's death. The latest date for Soter is Artemisios year 41 (pEleph. 3), approximately April 282, shortly after his death in February/March. But the earliest Greek papyrus we possess from Philadelphus' reign (pEleph. 5) is dated to Tybi 23 of year 2. This is an Egyptian date, with no recognition of Soter's existence. If it is accounted from the coregency, then it corresponds to 24 March 283—a year before Soter's death. This date implies that some Greeks in Elephantine recognized Soter as king while others recognized Philadelphus at the same time and in the same place. No such problem arises if the year was accounted from Soter's death: in this case the date corresponds to 23 March 281.[50]

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49 Muhs, "Chronology of the Reign of Ptolemy II Reconsidered".

50 Cf. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 26. Skeat had earlier made the same point with respect to odem Phil 10, dated Tybi year 3, as had Glanville with respect to odem BM 10530, dated Tybi 2 year 2 (Glanville 1933: xviii, xix), but these documents are both Theban and could therefore represent a different local convention from pEleph. 2, though considerations discussed below indicate that they do not. None of these dates is discussed by Muhs, who asserts ("Chronology of the Reign of Ptolemy II Reconsidered", 85) that "the only Egyptian evidence for a recalculation of Ptolemy II's regnal years" is given by iBucheum 3. Samuel and Glanville, following an argument first developed by Edgar, had noted that this stele implies accession-based dating when it states that a Buchis bull, born in Soter's year 14, died at age 20 in the 13th year of Philadelphus: if coregency-based dating had been used, the bull should have died at age 18. Muhs objected that the age was written in an unorthodox fashion (as 10+1 / 5 / 4), and its accuracy is therefore questionable. While the point is fair enough, one can reasonably conjecture an explanation assuming the simultaneous existence of coregency- and accession-based dating. For example, an initial "18", calculated assuming a coregency-based death date, could have been emended to "20" after the engraver learned that the Bucheum temple hierarchy had intended an accession-based date.

Egyptian documents also did not stop using Soter's count of regnal years after his elevation of Philadelphus as coregent. The demotic documents we currently possess from Soter's year 21 are dated between Phamenoth and Epeiph, or May to September 284, half a year after the start of the coregency in mid-February or March.[51] While we do not currently possess any documents of years 22 or 23 that are attributed to Soter,[52] there may be one other indication that he was still recognized as pharaoh by the Egyptian community, albeit possibly with a change of status: he had two different Egyptian throne names, Setepenre-Meriamun and Kheperkare-Setepenamun. The first was certainly used while he was sole king.[53] The second is only known from two examples, but one is certainly posthumous.[54] It may well have been adopted at the time of the coregency, to signify to the Egyptians that he continued to be pharaoh.

It is not possible, in most cases, to relate the documents we possess from Philadelphus' years 1 to 3 to Soter's final years. An exception concerns a group of demotic papyri recording purchase and property taxes paid between Soter's year 21 and year 9 of Philadelphus on two houses owned in Thebes by a certain Teinti.[55] She bought the first in Soter's year 21, paying a purchase tax of 2.5 silver *kite*, and paid a property tax of 6 silver *kite* on it in Philadelphus' year 2. She bought the second house in year 5, again paying a purchase tax of 2.5 silver *kite*. She paid property tax of 2 silver *kite* on it in year 6, and made a second payment of 6 silver *kite* for each house in year 9. Clearly, the property tax was assessed at a rate of 2 silver *kite* per house per annum. If the dates of Ptolemy II were accounted from his accession in 283/2, then the distance between Soter's year 21

51 Depauw et al., *Chronological Survey of Precisely Dated Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic Sources*, 34.

52 It may be that such documents are known but are misattributed on the presumption that year 21 was his last. However, the lack may also be due to gaps in the record: Depauw et al., *Chronological Survey of Precisely Dated Abnormal Hieratic and Demotic Sources* lists no dated documents for years 3, 7, 10 or 15, and for many years only one or two documents are listed. Year 23 was short, lasting only 3 or 4 months.

53 Stele Vienna 163, recording the death of the High Priest of Ptah Anemhor II on 26 Pharmouthi year 5 of Ptolemy IV = 8 June 217 aged 72 years 1 month and 23 days, and his birth on 3 Phamenoth year 16 of king Setepentre-meriamun Ptolemy = 4 May 289.

54 Kuhlman, "Demise of a Spurious Queen".

55 odem BM 10537, 10530, 10536, 10535, 10529 (Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri*, 39–45). Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 27 n. 56 argued against Glanville that both dating systems left this set of documents in the same sequence, and therefore they could not be used as evidence; presumably this is why Muhs did not do so. Neither Glanville nor Samuel considered the effect of changing the dating system on the tax rate as discussed here.

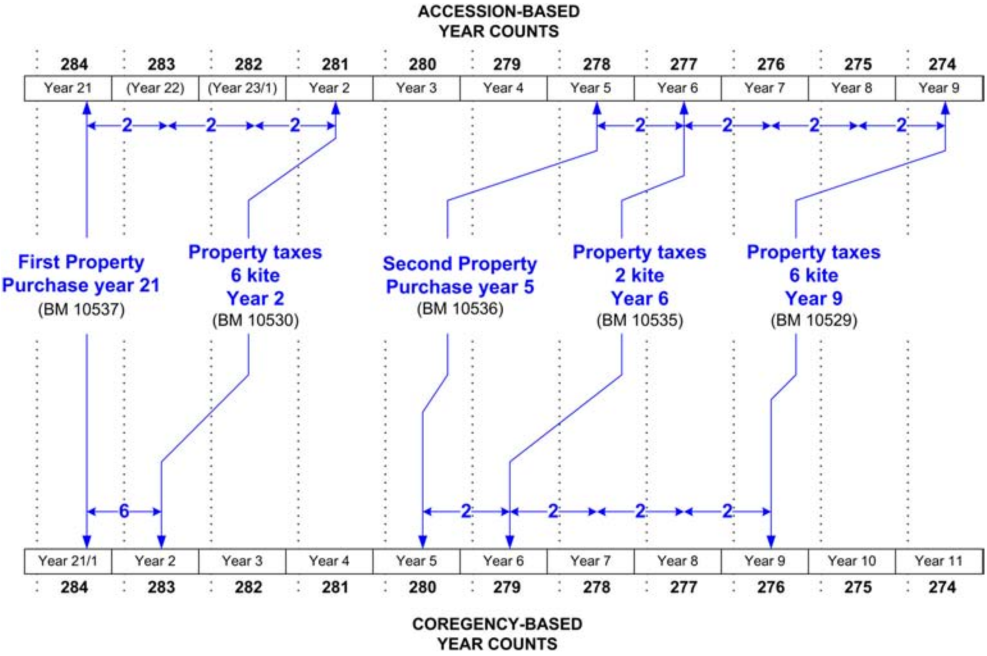

FIGURE 3.4 *Property tax rate in Thebes—coregency vs accession-based dating*

= 285/4 and Philadelphus' year 2 = 282/1 is three years, and the first tax payment on the first house was assessed at the same rate. But if the dates of Ptolemy II were accounted from his coregency then the distance between Soter's year 21 = 285/4 and Philadelphus' year 2 = 284/3 is only one year, and the taxation rate varies from 6 *kite* in his first year to 2 *kite* per annum thereafter. The difference is illustrated in Figure 3.4.

Thus, Egyptian year numbers associated with the *nḥb* and *nḥt* taxes were derived from Soter's Macedonian regnal years and from the anniversary of Philadelphus' coregency, yet property taxes in Thebes were dated from the anniversary of Philadelphus' accession using ordinary Egyptian civil years. The difference can be explained by considering the taxation authorities involved. The *nḥb* and *nḥt* taxes were annual capitation taxes, levied by the state.[56] While Teinti's purchase taxes were paid per purchase before a Greek commissioner, a representative of the state,[57] the property tax was paid to scribes who also held identified positions in the temple hierarchy: it was most probably a pure tem-

56 Muhs *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes*, 30.

57 Muhs *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes*, 68–70.

ple tax.[58] Even though the receipts for all these taxes were dated according to the Egyptian calendar year, annual state taxes reflected the year numbers of the king or his coregent—Macedonian years—while annual temple taxes reflected Egyptian custom.

Glanville suggested that the transition from accession-based years to coregency-based years may not have occurred at a fixed time but that different schemes were used simultaneously in different contexts and different places. Samuel dismissed this idea,[59] but the taxation data discussed here suggests that Glanville was correct. After all, if it is true that Soter's Egyptian tax years used his Macedonian year numbers, which were 20 years ahead of his Egyptian regnal year numbers, and that Philadelphus' tax year ran a full year ahead of his Macedonian regnal year for some 20 years, then the Egyptian civil year numbers in the same taxation receipts may be similarly disconnected from Egyptian civil year numbers used in other contexts.

In other words, it appears that coregency-based Egyptian years, derived from a Macedonian regnal year and used, at least initially, solely for taxation purposes, existed alongside accession-based Egyptian civil years in the first few years of Philadelphus' sole reign. It is unclear whether coregency-based years remained confined to taxation during this period; as Glanville's suggestion implies, each system may have been used for different purposes or in different places. It is also unclear when and how the accession-based count was abandoned. It may have persisted for some considerable time. If Grzybek was right in redating the death of Arsinoe II from 270 to 268, then both counts were used for at least fifteen years.

6 Conclusions

In summary, the calendars of the two peoples hardly interacted during Soter's lifetime. This surely reflects a high degree of social segregation. Soter may have established the syncretic cult of Serapis, his army may have had Egyptian recruits, even Egyptian commanders, and he may have relied on the Egyptian

58 Muhs *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers and Taxes*, 66–68.

59 Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri*, xix ("nor did it necessarily happen simultaneously everywhere"), vs Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, 27 n. 56 ("once the order were issued there would only be the interval required for the news to get throughout the country before the new system were followed everywhere"). Samuel assumes not only that an order was actually issued, which may or may not be so, but also that the "old" (accession-based) system was the only one previously in use, which it is argued here was not the case.

bureaucracy to raise his taxes, but the Macedonians and the Egyptians lived in separate conceptual worlds. Their calendars reflect very different notions of the nature of time and the legitimation of power. The apparent persistence of the native Macedonian calendar under Soter, with no observable change, reflects both the unique position of Alexandria and a high degree of confidence in the security of his control over the country. Unlike Seleucus, he saw no need to adapt his ancestral practices to the needs of his new state, nor did he need to interfere with the native Egyptian calendar. The only calendrical interaction we see in his reign is in taxation.

There is nothing particularly unexpected in this. Both earlier and later conquerors—the Hyksos, the Achaemenids, and the Romans—behaved in a similar fashion, retaining their own calendars to regulate their own customs, while administering the country using the native Egyptian calendar, a calendar whose efficacy had been proven over many centuries.

However, the separation of calendars did not persist. Near the end of his reign Soter elevated his son to be coregent, a decision which created a third system for accounting years. While Soter remained king, and was so recognized in both Greek and Egyptian documents, the dates of the *nḥb* receipts from this time indicate that this tax was the coregent's responsibility, and so the tax year was now accounted by years based on the anniversary of the coregency. This system continued after Philadelphus became sole king, though it conflicted with both the Macedonian and Egyptian methods of counting regnal years.

It is now clear that Ptolemy II undertook a major calendrical reform in the late 260s. Its most remarkable feature was the introduction of biennial intercalation in the Macedonian calendar: I have elsewhere suggested that this was intended to realign Dystros either to Thoth or the autumn equinox over a period of time.[60] But he also introduced the Greek financial year at or around the same time. This was partly necessary to keep the tax year seasonally aligned,

60 Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, 173–178. It remains unclear why he would want to make such a realignment. Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, 118 n. 46 and 155 n. 92 finds the proposal of a gradual reform unconvincing, as the "reformers would never live to see the outcome of their reform"; he prefers instead a single set of supernumerary intercalation(s) as being "far more reliable and expedient". Yet radical calendar reforms require great force of will and political strength to overcome the interests vested in the old calendar—cf. Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, 141 on the likely reasons Ptolemy III did not attempt to realign the Egyptian year to the seasons in the Canopic reform. It took a Caesar to enable the Julian reform, and Roman imperial power to persuade the cities and provinces of the East to assimilate their lunar calendars to the solar Julian one (cf. Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity*, 277–278 on the Asian calendar reform). As I noted in Bennett, *Alexandria and the Moon*, a gradual reform of just the type that Stern deprecates, intended to run over four decades,

even though the Macedonian year on which it was originally based was being decoupled from the solar year. If the arguments presented in this chapter are correct, the reform also adjusted Egyptian year numbering, so that financial year numbers ceased to be a full year ahead of the Macedonian regnal year. To the extent that accession-based dating was still used by the Egyptians, the reform may also have required that coregency-based dates be used for all purposes henceforth.

These aspects of the reform simplified the systems of dating that had grown up as a result of the coregency. They marked the first steps in a process that saw an attempt to introduce a leap day into the Egyptian calendar with the Canopic reform, and which ultimately resulted in the abandonment of the financial year and the absorption of the Macedonian calendar by the Egyptian one. But the need for them ultimately came from Soter's decision to base the Egyptian tax year on his Macedonian regnal year.

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was attempted in 18th century Sweden, and the partial recovery of the seasonal alignment of the Roman calendar between 190 and 168, immediately following the passage of the *Lex Acilia* of 191, seems hard to explain any other way. Stern offers no alternative explanation for the sudden appearance of Philadelphus' excess intercalations.

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CHAPTER 4

The Role of Coinage in the Political Economy of Fourth Century Egypt*

Henry P. Colburn

The arrival of Ptolemy I Soter was indisputably a turning point in the monetary history of Egypt. For thousands of years the Egyptian economy had operated in kind, with grain and precious metal bullion serving as the most typical, but by no means only, forms of money; yet at the time of Ptolemy's death in 282 BCE Egypt had a trimetallic system of coinage analogous to those of many Greek cities and other Hellenistic kingdoms. But these were not the first coins to be struck in Egypt; rather, a variety of small issues including gold coins, imitation Athenian tetradrachms, and fractions in silver and bronze were struck there since the beginning of the fourth century. In the absence of institutions that supported the exclusive use of coins as money, which, according to the recent seminal study by Sitta von Reden, were critical for the transition to a monetized economy, these coins were used alongside other forms of money such as grain and bullion.[1] This has made them difficult to interpret by means of the normal methodologies employed by numismatists, and as a result they remain poorly understood. Yet, as coins, these issues clearly represent an important stop on the road to monetization. As von Reden herself has stated, "… the monetary developments within Egypt immediately before the Macedonian conquest were an important precondition for the Ptolemies to succeed".[2]

It is the purpose of this chapter to re-examine the use of these coins within the context of the political economy of fourth century Egypt. The use of the

* I am grateful to Damien Agut-Labordère, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi, Gunnar Dumke, Wolfgang Fischer-Bossert, Christelle Fischer-Bovet, Don Jones, Cathy Lorber, Andy Meadows, Ken Sheedy, Peter van Alfen, Terry Wilfong, and Agnieszka Wojciechowska for sharing their research and insights with me; this paper has benefited enormously for it. I am also grateful to Paul McKechnie and Jenny Cromwell for the opportunity to participate in the Sydney conference and to contribute to its published proceedings, and to Sebastián Encina for helping me to procure some of the images published here.

1 Von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*.

2 Von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 33.

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term "political economy" signals a theoretical approach that focuses on the "relationship between political organization and the social organization of production, exchange, and consumption".[3] Such an approach has obvious relevance to even a largely monetized society, since coins are clearly a product of interaction between political power and economic conditions. However, it has frequently been applied to societies that did not use coins at all, and even to societies that had recourse only to what has been called "limited use money", i.e. items suitable to only some of the various purposes of money.[4] In an imperfectly monetized economy such as that of fourth century Egypt, coins fall into this category, and, by reconstructing the flows of food staples and the objects that served as more durable forms of wealth, it becomes possible to understand the role played by coins within the political economy. This approach is particularly appropriate given that the monetization of the Egyptian economy under Ptolemy and his successors was very much politically motivated.[5]

Thus it is necessary at the outset to construct a model of the political economy of Late Period Egypt that elucidates the roles played by staples and wealth objects, including coins, in production and economic exchange. This is followed by a presentation of the numismatic evidence for coin use in the fourth century, including the distribution and content of hoards and examinations of individual issues, especially the imitation Athenian tetradrachms so prevalent in this period. To accommodate changes in political circumstances, and to illustrate their economic effects, the Second Persian Period and the period in which Egypt was a part of Alexander's empire are treated separately. Finally, in order to understand the relationship between the political economy of the fourth century and the monetary reforms of the Ptolemies, the continuities and changes that occur in the early Ptolemaic economy are examined.

The fourth century in Egypt is often characterized as a period of political turbulence. Manetho attributes three dynasties to the sixty years between the overthrow of the Achaemenids in 404 and their return in 343/2; warfare and infighting were endemic.[6] This turbulence, however, belies a period of numis-

3 Stein, "Understanding Ancient State Societies in the Old World", 356.

4 Earle, *Bronze Age Economics*, 20; von Reden, *Money in Classical Antiquity*, 3–6.

5 Von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*; Manning, "Coinage as 'Code' in Ptolemaic Egypt"; *The Last Pharaohs*, 130–138.

6 Perdu, "Saites and Persians", 153–157; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 76–112; see also Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*. Depuydt, "New Date", has argued convincingly for a date of 340/339 instead of 343/42. This shortens the overall duration of the Second Persian Period by at least two years, but does not significantly affect the conclusions drawn here.

matic vibrancy in which the Egyptians experimented with the use and production of coinage in response to changing political and economic circumstances. This experimentation represents a crucial step in the monetization of the Egyptian economy, and it provided an important foundation for Ptolemy I Soter's monetary reforms.

1 The Political Economy of the Egyptian Late Period

The political economies of pre-modern states commonly consist of systems of staple and wealth finance. "Staple finance" refers to a system in which payments are made in food staples, usually grain.[7] Such systems are typical of many ancient states and empires where coins did not serve as the primary form of money. Given Egypt's agricultural fertility and relative poverty of silver, staple finance clearly played a major role from even the earliest periods, and continued to do so under Roman, Byzantine and Arab rule, when tribute payments were made in grain, despite the prevalent use of coins as money in those periods. Alongside staple finance, there also existed a system of wealth finance. "Wealth finance" involves transactions made in specialized objects that could not serve as staples. In ancient Egypt, these could have included a variety of durable goods, but precious metals were especially useful and desirable in this context. Wealth objects can provide various advantages over staples, especially their storability (they do not spoil) and their transportability (grain is bulky and therefore expensive to move long distances, especially overland). They also can support certain state functions, such as construction projects. At some point, wealth objects need to be converted into staples, and this conversion typically requires the existence of some sort of market system. Indeed, most ancient state economies comprised a combination of both staple and wealth finance, and understanding the role played by coins in the Egyptian economy requires an understanding of the interaction of staple and wealth finance there.

A comprehensive model of the political economy of the Egyptian Late Period is clearly a major desideratum. The difficulty of building such a model, however, is best summed up by Christopher Eyre:

> Evidence for the working of the Egyptian economy—both textual and archaeological—is considerable in quantity, although it tends to be frag-

7 D'Altroy and Earle, "Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage", 188; Earle, *How Chiefs Come to Power*, 70–75; *Bronze Age Economics*, 191–234.

> mentary, unprocessed, and often can seem intractable. In particular, it typically does not fit conveniently into an easy theoretical structure.[8]

Certainly this is the case for the Late Period, from which many documents in abnormal hieratic and Demotic survive. But these are by and large documents pertaining to the business of individuals; they include land leases, tax receipts, letters, accounts, wills, and so forth. They are enormously useful for writing social history, but it is difficult to identify overarching economic structures from these documents alone. The model presented in this chapter, then, is derived from evidence from the New Kingdom and later, down to the death of Alexander. Its purpose is to show the logical relationships between the producers and consumers of both staple and wealth goods in order to understand how coins fit into the political economy of Egypt.

1.1 *Staple Finance*

Egypt's primary form of wealth in antiquity was grain. This was due to the enormous fertility of the Nile river valley and the relative consistency and predictability of Nile floods. Until the Hellenistic period, the primary staple crops were emmer wheat (*triticum dicoccum*) and hulled barley (*hordeum vulgare*), with emmer becoming particularly prevalent in the New Kingdom and later.[9] Thus, usufruct of land and access to water were key to the production of staples.

In theory, the pharaoh owned all the land in Egypt; in practice, he needed some infrastructure by which he could exploit it, and this was provided by the temples, and perhaps also by other institutions, such as the army.[10] The pharaoh assigned various tracts of farmland to the temples in the guise of donations, recorded on stelae set up in the temples and at other relevant locations.[11] The temples, in turn, allotted this land to various temple officials and other people, and noted their names and titles, as well as the plots allotted to them

8 Eyre, "The Economy: Pharaonic", 307.

9 Murray, "Cereal Production and Processing", 511–513.

10 Farmland was allotted to Egyptian soldiers (Hdt. 2.168; Fischer-Bovet, "Egyptian Warriors") and also to foreign mercenaries as noted by Herodotus (2.154; see further Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, 15–22 and Agut-Labordère, "Plus que des mercenaires!") and implied by the usufruct of land by the Jewish garrison at Elephantine (Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, *passim*; see also Kaplan, "Cross-Cultural Contacts among Mercenary Communities"). Although some of this land fell under the administrative purview of temples (as per the soldiers listed as cultivators in P.Reinhardt) this represents another way in which the pharaoh could exploit Egypt's agricultural wealth.

11 Meeks, "Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte".

and their expected yields, in land lists, such as Papyrus Reinhardt, a tenth century hieratic land list recording the lands assigned to the domain of Amun in Upper Egypt.[12] These individuals (called "cultivators" in P.Reinhardt) paid the temple a portion of their harvest; this payment appears in Demotic land leases and tax receipts as the "harvest-tax" (*šmw*).[13] This grain was then stored in temple granaries, which in some cases were quite large; the Ramesseum at Thebes, for example, could store up to 16 million litres of grain.[14] Temples also leased water rights to cultivators; this is best attested by the fifth century Demotic ostraca from Ayn Manawir in the Kharga Oasis, which refer to the leasing of water rights by the temple of Osiris, usually for a specific number of days per month in exchange for a portion of the harvest.[15]

Since many of the so-called "cultivators" were precluded from farming the land themselves, because of their personal status or other responsibilities, they made agreements with others to oversee the actual work, again dividing the yield between them at an agreed rate; some of these agreements survive in the form of Demotic land leases.[16] The lessees in these documents also tend to have titles suggestive of statuses incompatible with manual labour, and they presumably made further sharecropping agreements with other people further down the social pyramid.[17] These sharecroppers in turn brought staples into their local village economies, where they consumed some of them, stored some of them, and used some of them to pay for goods and services.

Egyptian temples thus operated essentially as institutional lessors, deriving their income from farmland they permitted others to work in exchange for a percentage of the harvest. These stores of staples were used to fund temple operations, but they must have also been available to the pharaoh as well, in some manner. The nature of the economic relationship between the pharaoh and the temples is not always clear, in large part because the textual references to this relationship are usually couched in religious terms that obscure the eco-

12 Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*; see also the documents published in Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales*.

13 Müller-Wollermann, "Steuern, Zölle und Tribute", 90–91; Agut-Labordère "The Saite Period", 1018–1020; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 7–8.

14 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 257. Examples of temple storehouses from the New Kingdom through the Late Period are collected and discussed by Müller-Wollermann, "Die ökonomische Bedeutung von Tempelschatzhäusen", Traunecker, "Les 'temples hauts' de Basse Époque", and Berg, "The 29th Dynasty Storehouse at Karnak".

15 Chauveau, "Les qanāts dans les ostraca de Manâwar".

16 Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*; Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son*, 101–113.

17 Eyre, "How Relevant was Personal Status".

nomic aspects. The idiosyncratic Demotic document P.Rylands 9 (written in the reign of Darius I but describing events in the late Saite period) seems to indicate that the pharaoh could and did levy taxes on temples.[18] But the historicity of this document, which has many literary features, remains uncertain. At any rate, the pharaoh was the chief priest of every Egyptian temple, and when he "donated" land to support individual temples he was not so much depriving himself of its produce as he was deputizing local priestly elites to administer and exploit it on his behalf, in exchange for a cut of the proceeds, an arrangement typical of pre-modern agrarian states and empires.[19] Whatever the precise mechanism was for the pharaoh to draw on their resources, Egyptian temples were in effect a system of dispersed storehouses of staples, a common feature of many staple finance systems, such as that of the Inka Empire, which reduced the costs of transporting bulky staples and instead permitted them to be stored closer to where they might be utilized in furtherance of royal projects.[20] As Barry Kemp put it (somewhat anachronistically), "major temples were the reserve banks of their day".[21]

Sometimes, when the pharaoh was politically weak, the larger temples became essentially independent polities; certainly this was the case with the temple of Amun in Thebes during the Third Intermediate Period.[22] Yet, on the whole, the relationship between them was stable, if not always harmonious, and this stability was conceptualized in such religious terms as *maat*, the cosmic balance which it was the pharaoh's duty to maintain, through just rule and obeisance to the gods.[23] These stores of grain were distributed by the pharaoh and temples alike to people involved in public works projects, and others acquired grain by way of sharecropping agreements. Staples served as both the primary form of sustenance for many Egyptians, and also the primary form of wealth. This latter point, as well as the segment of the population involved in the cultivation or production of other goods or in the service sector, implies there must have been some market exchange in grain at the village level, since there had to be some mechanism by which those without access to staples

18 Agut-Labordère, "The Saite Period", 1010–1017; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 8–9.

19 Bang, *The Roman Bazaar*, 93–97.

20 See e.g., LeVine, *Inka Storage Systems*. Janssen, "The Cost of Nile-Transport", calculates the cost of transporting grain on the Nile in the later New Kingdom at 10% of the overall cargo; further costs would be incurred in moving it to and from the river, and storing it in a granary.

21 Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 257.

22 Jansen-Winkeln, "Der Thebanische 'Gottesstaat'".

23 Assmann, *Ma'at*, 201–236.

could acquire them and those with access could exchange them for goods and services.[24] This is rather a crucial point for this model, because it shows how wealth objects could potentially circulate even at the level of the village economy, and, indeed, this is attested in the evidence for wealth finance as discussed below.

Grain was by far the most prevalent form of money in Egypt's staple finance system, but there were limitations to its utility as money. Staples by their nature diminished in value as they increased in quantity, since a household could only consume so much grain in a given period of time. Furthermore, there was always the problem of spoilage, even in a dry climate like Egypt's.[25] On account of these limitations, grain was at best limited-use money, and for wealthier individuals and institutions wealth objects were generally more desirable than staples.[26]

1.2 *Wealth Finance*

Although food staples dominated the ancient Egyptian economy, wealth products also played an important role, one which is key to understanding coin use, since coins were essentially wealth products. Nearly any form of durable good could serve as a wealth product, but by the New Kingdom at least (and probably earlier) precious metals were the wealth product of choice. Unlike grain, metal had a high value for its weight, making it more worthwhile to transport, and it was reusable, i.e. it could be melted down and made into something else. Also, it did not spoil. Its main disadvantage was that it was not edible, so those people who did not produce their own staples relied on payments in staples or had to purchase them via market exchange. By necessity, systems of staple and wealth finance operated side by side in Egypt.

Gold and copper occur naturally in Egypt, and the pharaoh organized expeditions into the eastern desert and the Sinai Peninsula, as well as to Nubia, in order to procure them. He did, however, sometimes assign mining commissions to certain temples, as evidenced by the Great Harris Papyrus.[27] But silver was the wealth object of choice, and it does not occur naturally in Egypt in any great quantity—so the Egyptians must have acquired a significant amount of it from abroad. In the New Kingdom, Egypt received silver as tribute from

24 Eyre "The Market Women of Pharaonic Egypt", and "The Village Economy in Pharaonic Egypt", 53–55; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 302–335.

25 Adamson, "Problems over Storing Food in the Ancient Near East".

26 For 'limited use money', see Earle, *Bronze Age Economics*, 20 and von Reden, *Money in Classical Antiquity*, 3–6.

27 Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I*, 238.

vassal states in the Levant.[28] As Egyptian power waned in the beginning of the first millennium, tribute gave way to trade. This period was the heyday of Phoenician commercial expansion in the Mediterranean, and although there is limited direct evidence for the importation of silver into Egypt, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose it took place, especially as, prior to the advent of coinage, silver bullion was the commonest form of payment.[29] Egypt produced several mostly unique goods, namely linen, natron, alum, and papyrus, which were highly desirable as exports.[30] Temples were certainly involved in the production of linen, since there are land leases and tax receipts in Demotic and abnormal hieratic in which the harvest tax is paid in flax.[31] There is no direct evidence of their involvement in the production of any of the other exports, but these occurred naturally and could be collected by individuals, individuals who needed to procure staples in order to feed themselves and their families. It stands to reason that they turned to temples to trade these goods, especially as most villagers would have had only limited need of natron, alum, or papyrus, and would have been able to collect small quantities of these themselves. In essence, temples converted their surplus stores of staples into durable goods, which they then sold to foreign merchants in exchange for silver (among other things).

Foreign trade also provided silver to the temples, and to the pharaoh for that matter, in the form of customs duties. *TADAE* C3.7, an Aramaic customs document dating to 475, makes reference to import duties paid in gold, silver, and in kind, and the stelae of Nectanebo I erected at Naucratis and Heracleion-Thonis seem to indicate duties paid in gold, silver, and wood, to both the pharaoh and the temple of Neith in Sais.[32] This last document provides an important clue as to the relationship between the pharaoh, the temples, and foreign merchants. According to Miriam Lichtheim's re-examination of Nectanebo's

28 Pons Medallo, "Trade of Metals between Egypt and Other Countries", 12–16.

29 Le Rider, *Le naissance de la monnaie*, 1–39; see Pernigotti, "Phoenicians and Egyptians", for Phoenician trade and interaction with Egypt.

30 The importation of linen and alum to Babylon in the sixth century is attested in two cuneiform tablets (Oppenheim, "Essay on Overland Trade"), and an Aramaic customs document from Elephantine dating to 475 indicates that Greek and Phoenician merchants exported natron in some quantity (*TADAE* C3.7; see Yardeni, "Maritime Trade and Royal Accountancy"; Briant and Descat, "Un registre douanier de la satrapie d'Égypte"; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 681–703; Cottier, "Retour à la source").

31 Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son*, 73–99; Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*.

32 Müller-Wollermann, "Steuern, Zölle und Tribute", 94–100; Lichtheim, "The Naucratis Stela Once Again"; Yoyotte, "An Extraordinary Pair of Twins"; von Bomhard, *The Decree of Sais*.

decree, the temple of Neith at Sais received one-tenth of the customs duty revenues from Naucratis and Heracleion-Thonis, with the other nine-tenths going to the "king's domain". This arrangement appears to be another example of the pharaoh giving a temple a cut of the customs revenues in exchange for the temple's cooperation in their collection, analogous to the practice of allotting arable land to temples and permitting them to collect the tax revenues from them in exchange for political and financial support. This system probably existed as early as the Saite period, since some of the individuals with titles identifying them as customs officials also had titles indicating responsibility for making offerings to temples.[33]

There is also some evidence for temple stores of wealth in the form of silver bullion. According to the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* (1350b–1351a), the fourth century BCE pharaoh Tachos, in preparation for his invasion of Achaemenid holdings in the Levant, demanded a forced loan of bullion from the temples.[34] This move was part of a larger package of financial reforms enacted by Tachos for this same purpose, and a recent study of the tenth chapter of the Demotic Chronicle argues that these reforms were prefigured by similar such measures under his predecessor Nectanebo I.[35] This episode implies that temples stored some portion of their wealth in silver rather than staples, on which the pharaoh could draw if he was sufficiently powerful or sufficiently desperate. This is also suggested by the weight standards used for silver. Beginning with P.Berlin 3048, dating to 827, marriage contracts include references to weighed quantities of silver, which typically were to be paid to the wife in the event of divorce, as do loan agreements and the penalty clauses in contracts, such as land leases and sale agreements.[36] In the earliest documents, silver is weighed against the "stones" (i.e. weights) of the treasury of the temple of Heryshaf in Thebes (in Demotic, they are simply called the "stones of the treasury of Thebes"); by the fifth century, the stones of the temple of Ptah in Memphis supplanted those of Heryshaf.[37] That these weight standards were associated with various temples rather than the pharaoh suggests not only that the temples were the major users of silver bullion, but that they were intimately

33 Agut-Labordère, "The Saite Period", 1006; Posener, "Les douanes de la Méditerranée", 121.

34 Will, "Chabrias et les finances de Tachôs"; Davies, "Athenian Fiscal Expertise", 491–493; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 13–16; cf. Polyaenus, *Strat.* 3.11.5.

35 Agut-Labordère, "L'oracle et l'hoplite".

36 Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*; Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, 87, 103–105.

37 Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, 87–89; Müller-Wollerman, "Die ökonomische Bedeutung von Tempelschatzhäusen", 177–178; Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 165–167; Jurman, "'Silver of the Treasury of Herishef'", 60–63.

linked with the use of silver in public perception. It has even been suggested that the temples acted as guarantors of fineness, though this has been disputed.[38]

During the period of Achaemenid rule in Egypt (c. 525–404), the economic relationship between the pharaoh and the temples underwent a somewhat significant change with respect to wealth finance.[39] According to Herodotus (3.92.1) Egypt paid 700 Babylonian talents of silver per year in tribute to the Great King. Setting aside the uncertainties as to the source for this figure and its accuracy, the payment of tribute in silver required the conversion of grain, Egypt's primary form of wealth, into silver, on a scale not previously necessary. The mechanism by which the satrap acquired silver for this purpose is not directly attested; however, financial oversight of the temples is suggested indirectly by a couple of sources. One of the texts on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle refers to a decree of Cambyses regulating temple incomes.[40] It has been argued that the purpose of this decree was to increase the economic efficiency of temple estates, presumably with a view towards generating more tribute.[41] Also, P.Berlin 13536, a Demotic letter from a ranking administrator in the satrapal government to the priests of the temple of Khnum in Elephantine, seems to indicate that the temple was audited, which suggests that the satrap, operating in the Great King's stead, drew on temple stores of silver in order to make tribute payments.[42] This created an additional onus for temples to convert grain into silver, and, in addition to the export of natron, linen, and papyrus (by now the primary writing medium in the Greek world), this was achieved by selling grain to the Greeks, especially the burgeoning Athenian Empire. Indeed, hoards of Greek coins in Egypt begin around 500, and the Athenian tetradrachm quickly became the most common coin in Egypt, to such an extent that, by the last decade of the fifth century, the "stater of Ionia" occurs in Demotic and Aramaic documents, usually with a specified equivalent

38 Müller-Wollermann, "Ägypten auf dem Weg zur Geldwirtschaft", 1353. Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, 87–89 adamantly disputes that temples had any concern for the fineness of their silver, whereas Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 165–176 argues that the temple of Ptah actually issued a sort of proto-coinage by stamping ingots of specific weight and fineness.

39 Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 9–13.

40 Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 125–126.

41 Agut-Labordère, "Le sens du *Décret de Cambyse*" and "Le titre du 'décret de Cambyse'".

42 Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*, 80–81; cf. Chauveau, "La chronologie de la correspondence dite 'de Phérendatès'"; for P. Berlin 13536 see Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*.

value expressed in *deben* or shekels.[43] Around the same time, the earliest imitation Athenian tetradrachms were being struck in Egypt.[44] By the fourth century, Egypt had to compete with the Bosporus as an exporter of grain to the Greek world, but Egypt's other major exports were still very much in demand, and, as illustrated by the case of Tachos discussed above, the pharaoh still needed silver and he leaned on the temples to get it.

Finally, it is also worth examining the use of precious metal bullion as wealth products by individuals. Silver and copper especially are used as units of account as early as the New Kingdom.[45] This does not, however, mean that such metals were used for everyday transactions. Staples continued to serve as the most common form of payment of wages, as at Deir el-Medina, and since these wages were scaled according to rank and occupation, the implication is that they served as both sustenance and currency. But there is evidence for the use of silver bullion as early as the fourteenth century, the period in which the earliest securely dated *Hacksilber* hoard occurs; such hoards continue well into the Late Period, though by their very nature these hoards are difficult to date precisely.[46] Also, as mentioned above, beginning in the ninth century, silver bullion occurs in marriage contracts and other documents, though it is not always clear if it is the actual form of wealth or simply a unit of account. Agreements detailing loans of silver, such as P.BM 10113, P.Hou 12, and *TADAE* B3.1 and 4.2 are less equivocal, especially when compared to contemporary documents such as P.Hou 13 and *TADAE* B3.13 that are specifically loans of grain.[47] At any rate, it is clear that, by the fourth century, silver bullion in the form of *Hacksilber* circulated among individual Egyptians as an important form of money, though its circulation was limited, since people without recourse to farmland required staples rather than silver. However, the use of silver by temples would also have led to its dissemination among the people most closely involved in

43 The Demotic documents are ostraca from Ayn Manawir in the Kharga Oasis (Chauveau, "La première mention du statère d'argent en Égypte", 138–140; Agut-Labordère, "L'orge et l'argent"), and the Aramaic documents are papyri from Elephantine (*TADAE* A4.2, B3.12, B4.6, B4.5; Porten et al., *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, nos. B14, B45, and B51).

44 Colburn, "The Archaeology of Achaemenid Rule in Egypt", 352–387; see further below.

45 Janssen, "On Prices and Wages".

46 Jurman, "Silver of the Treasury of Herishef", 56–57; Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 147–164; van Alfen, "Herodotus' 'Aryandic' Silver and Bullion Use"; Kroll, "A Small Find of Silver Bullion".

47 Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son*, 35–39; Vleeming, *The Gooseherd of Hou*, 156–188; Porten et al., *The Elephantine Papyri in English*, nos. B34, B46, and B48.

temple activities and by extension people tasked with carrying out pharaonic projects (such as invading the Achaemenid Empire) when such projects made use of temple resources. Moreover, since a person and his family could only eat or store so much grain, wealthier Egyptians especially had the same motivation to convert staples to silver, as did the temples; indeed, many of these people were associated with temples by virtue of the titles, offices, and prebends they held.

In the context of the Egyptian political economy, coins were wealth objects that served as one of several forms of money. In other words, they were money by virtue of their metal content, not of the images stamped on them. This last point is especially crucial to understanding the ways in which people and institutions made use of coins, since these uses were not necessarily those typical of coins in Greece, Asia Minor, and the Levant.

2 The Coins of Fourth Century Egypt

The evidence for coins and their use in fourth century Egypt derives primarily from hoards found there and from the individual issues which have been attributed to it based on their findspots, types, and legends. The hoards, which are comprised overwhelmingly of Athenian tetradrachms, provide a sense of the distribution and manner of coin use in Egypt. The prominence of the tetradrachm was a result of its unique role within the political economy: it could serve equally well as a coin and as a specific quantity of silver bullion. This uniqueness led to the production of imitation Athenian tetradrachms in Egypt itself, making them the first coins struck there. The special role of the tetradrachm is further underscored by the other coin issues of this period, which were generally short-lived, by its adoption by the Achaemenid satraps of the Second Persian Period, and by the lack of any attempt to supplant it during the reign of Alexander. It required the major economic reforms of the Ptolemies to finally bring about its replacement in the last decades of the fourth century.

2.1 *Hoards*

There are some nineteen coin hoards dating to the fourth century prior to the death of Alexander known from Egypt (Table 4.1).[48] They come exclusively from the Nile Delta, with the exception of *IGCH* 1651 from Beni Hasan and *CoinH* 10.422, which was purchased by the excavators of Karanis in the Fayum. Over-

48 See also Duyrat, "Le trésor de Damanhour", 31–32.

whelmingly, these hoards contain Athenian tetradrachms, save for those dating to c. 330, which contain issues of Philip II and thus likely postdate the arrival of Alexander, but whose contents seem largely to reflect earlier circulation. In addition to Athenian tetradrachms, Phoenician coins also appear in several of the hoards, albeit in small numbers.

TABLE 4.1 *Fourth century coin hoards*

Reference[49]	**Burial date**	**Findspot**	**Coins**	**Hacksilber**
10.438	Late 5th–early 4th cen.	Egypt		314.6 g AR
1649/10.441	Early 4th cen.	Tell el-Maskhuta	6000+ AR	4500+ g AR[50]
1660	4th cen.	Memphis	39 AR	
1648	4th cen.[51]	Naucratis	65 AR	
1661	4th cen.	Naucratis	12 AR	
10.439	4th cen.	Memphis	13 AR	
10.442	4th cen.	Fayum	347 AR	
1652	360	Naucratis	83 AR	"a few"
8.125	350	Egypt	201 AR	
1663/10.443	Mid 4th cen.[52]	Athribis	700 AR	
10.444	Mid 4th cen.	Egypt	9+ AR	
10.445	Mid 4th cen.	Egypt	15+ AR	
1651/7.32	341[53]	Beni Hasan	77 AR	2 AR

49 References are to *IGCH* and *CoinH*.

50 This is a reference to the ten silver bowls and other fragments of vessels found at Tell el-Maskhuta in 1947 and now in the Brooklyn Museum. The precise relationship of these vessels to the hoard of tetradrachms also found there is not entirely clear, but Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions", 1–2, associates them because the Museum purchased with the bowls several gold-mounted agate stones, and such stones were described as having been found with the coin hoard.

51 This date is based on the eleven Athenian tetradrachms (BM 1905,0309.1–11) from this hoard in the British Museum, which both Andy Meadows and I believe to be fourth century Egyptian imitations rather than fifth century Attic issues, as believed by both Jenkins (in *IGCH*) and Head, "Coins Discovered on the Site of Naukratis", 9, neither of whom had the benefit of modern scholarship on this topic.

52 This date is derived from the inclusion of imitative pi-style tetradrachms in this hoard (Nicolet-Pierre, "Retour sur le trésor de Tel el-Athrib"), which must postdate the first issuance of these coins at Athens in 353 (see Kroll, "The Reminting of Athenian Silver Coinage"; Flament, *Le monnayage en argent d'Athènes*, 125–130).

53 Elayi and Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire*, 294.

Reference	Burial date	Findspot	Coins	Hacksilber
1653	333[54]	Giza	2 AR	
1662	333[55]	Nile Delta	60 AR	
1654	330	Damanhur	11+ AU	
1655	330	Alexandria	4+ AU	
1656	330	Nile Delta	9 AU, AR	
1657	330	Egypt	60 AU	
1658	330	Memphis	38 AU	
Van Alfen, 2004–2005b	Late 4th cen.	Egypt		39.93 g AR

The presence of bullion and *Hacksilber* in some of these hoards, as well as the cuts and countermarks that appear on many of the coins, is consistent with the use of coins as bullion, as are the references in Demotic and Aramaic documents to "staters of Ionia" being equivalent to certain weights of silver.[56] For most Egyptians, coins would have been the same as any other piece of silver, and accordingly they were cut up to make specific quantities of metal, tested for purity (again by cutting), and melted down entirely to make something else. This means that many of the coins imported into Egypt (or produced there; see below) were ultimately destroyed. This list of hoards therefore underrepresents the extent of coin use in Egypt, but at the same time demonstrates the limited use of coins as coins rather than as bullion.

The distribution of these hoards is highly suggestive of the use of coins being limited primarily to Lower Egypt. This is presumably due to the people and institutions of the Nile Delta having closer connections to regions and individuals for whom coins were the primary form of money, such as the Greeks, and, from the mid-fifth century, the Phoenicians and Palestinians as well. Many of these connections would have been commercial in nature, with temples

54 Elayi and Elayi, *Trésors de monnaies phéniciennes et circulation monétaire*, 151–152.

55 The inclusion of issues of Sabaces (see below) in this hoard makes a burial date of 333 most likely, though it could also have been buried a few years later.

56 Chauveau, "La première mention du statère d'argent en Égypte". "Ionia" was the normal metonym for Greece in both Egyptian and Aramaic, and "stater" refers to the most prevalent coin in a given context, which in the Classical period was undoubtedly the Athenian tetradrachm.

exporting grain or other items and importing silver in the form of coins; however, by this time, there were many resident foreigners in Lower Egypt, soldiers in particular, whose familiarity with coinage may have also bolstered the circulation of coins as such.[57] The presence of coin hoards in the north is probably also due to the frequent military conflicts between Egypt and the Achaemenid Empire in the fourth century, since such conditions are a major contributor to the deposition and failure to recover coin hoards.[58] Upper Egypt was never under direct military threat by the Persians, so there was less reason for hoards to be hidden at all, and this along with the references to the stater in the Demotic papyri (all of which come from southern Egypt) suggests that the differences in coin use between Upper and Lower Egypt may have been less pronounced than the hoards alone would indicate.

2.2 *Athenian and Egyptian Tetradrachms*

Though the earliest Egyptian hoards, dating to the late sixth and early fifth centuries, included coins minted throughout the eastern Mediterranean and from as far west at Sicily and Magna Graecia, after 480 the Athenian tetradrachm had a "virtual monopoly" in Egyptian hoards.[59] Its popularity was due to the reliability and conservatism of its type and fineness; it always featured the head of Athena and owl types, and it always contained 17.2 g of silver. Indeed, Athens may have minted coins deliberately for export, especially in exchange for the grain it needed to sustain its population, and other aspects of Athenian imperialism may also have furthered its use beyond Attica.[60] The changes to Egypt's and Athens' political circumstances in the fourth century seem not to have affected the tetradrachm's popularity; it remained the most frequent and oftentimes the only coin in hoards of the fourth century, and it continued to appear in Demotic documents. While some of these coins were doubtlessly struck in Athens, many were imitation Athenian tetradrachms, that is, tetradrachms

57 For these foreigners, see Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*.

58 These conflicts are given detailed treatment in Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West*.

59 Thompson et al., *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, 225; Colburn, "The Archaeology of Achaemenid Rule in Egypt", 354–358.

60 Kroll, "Minting for Export"; see also van Alfen, "The Coinage of Athens", 92–97 and "Xenophon *Poroi* 3.2 and Athenian 'Owls'", and the list of hoards containing tetradrachms in Flament, *Le monnayage en argent d'Athènes*, 173–232. It is well beyond the scope of this paper to consider all the problems of the Athenian grain supply and Coinage Decree in any detail; for a recent discussion with reference to numismatic evidence, see Kroll, "What about Coinage?"

with the same types, weight, and fineness as Athenian ones.[61] This was in fact a widespread phenomenon in the eastern Mediterranean during the fourth century, to such an extent that in 375/4 Athens enacted a law (the so-called Law of Nicophon) that appointed "approvers" (*dokimastai*; in this case, public slaves) in the Agora and Piraeus whose job it was to validate coins bearing the Athenian types.[62] The details of the law are still subject to debate, but it clearly responds to a situation in which Athenian issues and imitations of them were circulating side by side at Athens itself and were sufficiently indistinguishable from each other so as to require the intervention of a civic official.[63] The questions of where, why and in what quantities these imitation tetradrachms were minted has much exercised scholars; regardless, it is clear that tetradrachms, both Athenian and imitation, played an important role as wealth products in the Egyptian political economy.

The importance of the tetradrachm derives from the fact that those Egyptian institutions (i.e. temples) and individuals seeking to convert staples to wealth products would have had recourse to Mediterranean trade. Although by this time the Bosporus had also become a major exporter of grain to Athens, Egypt was certainly still involved in this trade.[64] This is best attested by the pseudo-Demosthenic law court speech *Against Dionysodorus* (7), in which two foreigners resident at Athens sue a merchant for not importing grain to Athens from Egypt as per the terms of their bottomry agreement. Also, the description of the schemes of Cleomenes of Naucratis in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* refers to the export of grain by Egyptians (1352a–b). Moreover, Athens was not the only city in need of Egyptian exports. Many cities in the Aegean and Asia Minor, for example, also needed to import grain, and, although they too would also have had access to shipments from the Bosporus, there is no reason to assume they did not import it from Egypt as well. Dionysodorus, the defendant in the speech referred to above, apparently took his shipload of grain to Rhodes rather than Athens. These same cities would also have needed to import papyrus and other Egyptian goods as well, as would those along the Levantine coast.

61 For imitation coinages see the important discussion in van Alfen, "Problems in Ancient Imitative and Counterfeit Coinage".

62 SEG 26.72; Rhodes and Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 25. For an overview of imitation Athenian tetradrachms, see van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage", 65–84.

63 See most recently Psoma, "The Law of Nicophon".

64 Bissa, *Governmental Intervention and Foreign Trade*, 153–203.

Thus, foreign coins were imported into Egypt where they served as wealth products. Many would have been treated as bullion or *Hacksilber*, and chopped up or melted down. Athenian tetradrachms, however, were treated differently, at least by a significant segment of the population. Their survival in hoards suggests they circulated as coins and as bullion; this is also supported by the references to them in fourth century Demotic papyri, such as P.Cairo 50145 (dating to 367), P.Lonsdorfer 1 (366), P. Berlin 23805 (343), and P.Libbey (337).[65] In these documents, five staters (i.e. tetradrachms) are equated to one *deben* of silver, or one stater is equated to two *kite*. The *deben* was an Egyptian unit of weight equal to about 91g; five Athenian tetradrachms of 17.2g apiece are equal to 86g. The difference is just enough to require definition in a contract. The *kite* was one tenth of a *deben*, and therefore two *kite* weighed 18.2g, or one gram more than a full weight tetradrachm. The closeness of these equivalencies, alongside the reliability of the coin's type and fineness, made the tetradrachm interchangeable as a coin to those familiar with it and as bullion to those who were not.

Indeed, repeated exposure to the tetradrachm would have caused those Egyptians who treated it as bullion to come to recognize it. In this respect, it was a bullion coin, akin to the Maria Theresa thaler of more recent history, which circulated on three continents well into the twentieth century.[66] In fact, the aptness of this comparison goes even further, since the widespread acceptance and circulation of the Maria Theresa thaler caused it to be minted all over Europe (not just in Austria), and in India as well, just as the Athenian tetradrachm, which was widely imitated in the Mediterranean, came to be the first coin minted in Egypt itself.[67]

The minting of imitations of Athenian tetradrachms begins in the last decade of the fifth century, and continues throughout the period of Egypt's independence in the fourth century. Two distinct categories of anonymous imitations can be attributed to this period.[68] The earlier category was first postulated

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65 Chauveau, "La première mention du statère d'argent en Égypte", 142; for P.Cairo 50145, see Cruz-Uribe, "Varia", 6–17; for P.Lonsdorfer 1, see Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 20–21; for P.Berlin 23805, see Zauzich, "Ein demotisches Darlehen"; for P.Libbey, see Cruz-Uribe, "Papyrus Libbey".

66 Tschoegl, "Maria Theresa's Thaler". I am grateful to Mark Winfield for suggesting this comparison.

67 For an overview of imitations of Athenian tetradrachms, see van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage", 65–84.

68 Following the typology established by van Alfen, "Problems in Ancient Imitative and Counterfeit Coinage", 'anonymous' imitations share exactly the same types as Athenian tetradrachms, and are distinct from 'marked' imitations, such as the gold stater of Tachos

FIGURE 4.1 *AR imitation Athenian tetradrachm* (*Buttrey Type X*)

by T.V. Buttrey in two papers examining a hoard of 347 tetradrachms (*CoinH* 10.442) purchased by the excavators of Karanis in the Fayum during the 1934–1935 field season and now the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan.[69] Buttrey identified three different styles in the hoard, all with profile eyes, which he arbitrarily labelled as Types X, B, and M (Figures 4.1–4.3), and based on numerous die links in Types X and B, their unusual stylistic features, and the hoard's Egyptian origin, he argued that these three styles were part of a larger coinage of imitation Athenian tetradrachms minted in Egypt in the fourth century rather than in Athens. Coins of these styles appear in most of the fourth century Egyptian hoards, as well as in various other hoards throughout the Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds, indicating both a massive output and a very wide distribution. The Egyptian origin of these coins is supported by a "cube die" from Egypt known from an electrotype now in the British Museum.[70] The cube has three obverse dies engraved on it, all with the Athena type of the Athenian tetradrachm. More importantly, two of these dies seem to be related to Type M, and the third to Type B. Moreover, three reverse dies are also known from Egypt, one from Athribis and two from Sais. These dies

or the tetradrachms bearing the names of Artaxerxes, Sabaces, and Mazaces (on which see below).

69 Buttrey "Pharaonic Imitations of Athenian Tetradrachms" and "Seldom What They Seem"; see now Nicolet-Pierre, "Les imitations égyptiennes des tétradrachmes athénens"; van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 16–20; van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage", 66–70; Kroll, "Athenian Tetradrachm Coinage", 12–15; Colburn, "The Archaeology of Achaemenid Rule in Egypt", 371–379.

70 Meadows, "Athenian Coin Dies from Egypt".

FIGURE 4.2 *AR imitation Athenian tetradrachm (Buttrey Type B)*

indicate the minting of imitation Athenian tetradrachms in Lower Egypt, and, without a die study to suggest otherwise, they provide sufficient confirmation of Buttrey's attribution, as least for Types B and M.

Nevertheless, there have been several challenges to this attribution. Carmen Arnold-Biucchi's re-examination of the Fayum Hoard (*CoinH* 10.442) indicates there are actually fewer die links than Buttrey had originally identified.[71] This lessens the probability that these coins were minted in Egypt, but it does not prove anything either way. The most strenuous objections, however, have been made by Christophe Flament, who argues for an Athenian origin for all of Buttrey's styles. His argument is worth summarizing here, and it proceeds along several lines. First of all, he argues that Types B and M are earlier than previously believed.[72] This is because the hoard excavated at Naxos on Sicily (*CoinH* 10.378), which contains coins of these types, was found in a context that could not date later than 402. Flament insists that they must predate the Sicilian expedition of 415; this assumes an Athenian origin (resulting in a circular argument), but it does seem likely B and M were being minted in the 410s. This redating does not directly challenge the Egyptian attribution of these coins, but it does require them to have been minted during the last decade of Achaemenid rule in Egypt.

71 Arnold-Biucchi, "Les monnayages royaux hellénistiques", 91. She is preparing a full publication of this hoard, and I am grateful to her for discussing her preliminary findings with me.

72 Flament, "Imitations athéniennes ou monnaies authentiques?", 1–3, and *Le monnayage en argent d'Athènes*, 79–91.

FIGURE 4.3 *AR imitation Athenian tetradrachm* (*Buttrey Type M*)

This re-dating also permits Flament to argue that the unusual stylistic features of these coins were the result of less accomplished die engravers who were employed at Athens because of exigent circumstances following the Peloponnesian War, an argument which he also makes in support of an Athenian origin for coins of Buttrey's Type X.[73] But as Anderson and van Alfen point out, Athenian coins were rarely struck from carelessly made dies, even at times of crisis, and they were always stylistically related to preceding issues.[74] Flament also cites *CoinH* 5.15, a hoard from the Piraeus containing not only coins of Types B and M, but also drachms of similar styles.[75] He argues that since fractions do not travel as far from their place of origin as staters do, these coins must have been produced at Athens. This argument is undermined by *CoinH* 10.439, which also contains imitation Athenian drachms, and was excavated at the Temple of Apis in Memphis.[76]

Finally, Flament argues that the high lead content and low gold content of coins of Types B and M from the Tell el-Maskhuta hoard (*IGCH* 1649), determined by means of PIXE, is consistent with the metal content of earlier Athenian coins undoubtedly produced from Laureion silver.[77] The reason for the

73 Flament, "Imitations athéniennes ou monnaies authentiques?", 7; "Quelques considerations sur les monnaies atheniennes", 92–97.

74 Anderson and van Alfen, "A Fourth Century BCE Hoard", 165; cf. Kroll, "Athenian Tetradrachm Coinage", 12–13.

75 Flament, "Un trésor de tétradrachmes athéniens".

76 Jones and Jones, "The Apis House Project", 107–110.

77 Flament, "L'argent des chouettes"; Flament and Marchetti, "Analysis of Ancient Silver Coins".

high lead content is that Laureion silver was obtained from galena, rather than from gold, which was the main source of silver in Egypt. On the whole, though, Egypt is quite poor in silver, and, by the early fourth century, the Egyptians had been importing silver from the Greek world in the form of coins for a hundred years. Though some of this silver ended up as tribute for the Achaemenid Great King, the rest would have provided the metal for minting coins. Therefore, Flament's findings do not prove that the specimens from *IGCH* 1649 were in fact minted in Athens, only that the silver used is potentially from Laureion. Analyses of the metal content of Type X coins indicate higher elemental percentages than are normal for Laureion silver, suggesting the metal used came from elsewhere.[78] Especially in light of the dies found in Egypt, Flament's reattribution of the Buttrey types to Athens is not compelling, though the research supporting it is informative in a number of ways.

The other category of Egyptian imitations consists of imitations of the pi-style tetradrachms minted in Athens in the second half of the fourth century. These coins were first minted at Athens in 353 BCE as part of an effort to increase revenues by demonetizing and re-striking the existing silver coinage, and, at least initially, they were produced in great numbers.[79] They have a number of distinctive features, including folded flans and the floral helmet element on the obverse type which gives these coins their modern name (Figure 4.4). Giovanni Dattari, in his publication of the Tell el-Athrib hoard (*IGCH* 1663), was the first to suggest that coins of this style were imitated in Egypt (even though the pi-style was not a recognized phenomenon at the time); two more hoards from Egypt (*CoinH* 10.444 and 445) also contain pi-style imitations.[80] The existence of Egyptian imitations has been further confirmed by the recent discovery of another cube die in Egypt in the course of the underwater excavations at Heracleion-Thonis on the Canopic branch of the Nile. This cube has three individual dies, two of which are clearly for making pi-style tetradrachms.[81] A full die study of the pi-style issues will be necessary to distinguish with confidence between coins minted in Athens and those minted in

78 Flament, "Quelques considérations sur les monnaies atheniennes", 92–97; Kroll, "Athenian Tetradrachm Coinage", 12–15. Flament argues that these coins were struck at Athens under duress, when it was necessary to use stores of imported silver.

79 Kroll, "The Reminting of Athenian Silver Coinage".

80 Dattari, "Comments on a Hoard of Athenian Tetradrachms"; see also Nicolet-Pierre, "Retour sur le trésor de Tel el-Athrib". *CoinH* 10.444 and 445 are published by van Alfen, "Two Unpublished Hoards".

81 Meadows, "Athenian Coin Dies from Egypt".

FIGURE 4.4 *AR possible imitation Athenian tetradrachm* (*pi style*)

Egypt. Nevertheless, these imitations demonstrate both the continuous minting of tetradrachms in Egypt throughout the first half of the fourth century, and the receptiveness of Egyptian moneyers to changes to the issues of the Athenian mint.

The question of why imitation tetradrachms were minted, both in Egypt and elsewhere, has much exercised scholars. Bound up in this question is also the matter of who minted them. The two most common explanations are that they were minted in order to pay Greek mercenaries, and that they were minted in response to local shortages of actual Athenian issues.[82] Both of these explanations are worth revisiting here, since the Buttrey types and pi-style imitations, unlike many of the other imitation Athenian tetradrachms minted in the eastern Mediterranean, are anonymous imitations rather than clearly labelled local issues inspired by Athenian coins. Indeed, of all the known imitation Athenian coins, those minted in Egypt would have been best suited to the payment of Greek mercenaries who demanded their wages in familiar and internationally respected currency.

However, there is in fact very little evidence that Greek mercenaries were ever in a position to make such demands. References in textual sources indicate they were generally exploited by their employers, and often paid less frequently than promised.[83] They continued to serve on individual campaigns in hope of

82 See van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage", for an effective demolition of both of these explanations.

83 Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries*, 102–103.

booty or finally getting paid when the fighting was over. If they did not mutiny for not being paid at all, then surely they would not mutiny for being paid in something other than what appeared to be Athenian tetradrachms. Moreover, Greek mercenaries had served in Egypt under the Saite pharaohs in the sixth century, prior to the advent of coin use there.[84] Soldiers in Egypt were generally remunerated with usufruct of land, i.e. with the capacity to produce staples, rather than in silver, and this is no surprise given Egypt's wealth of the former and poverty of the latter. Finally, in the fourth century, mercenaries were employed by the pharaohs to defend against Persian incursions, and, in the case of Tachos, for a pre-emptive invasion. If imitation tetradrachms were minted for the purposes of paying these mercenaries, presumably the minting would take place under the authority and supervision of the pharaoh. But as Meadows has argued, based on the coin dies from Egypt, the minting of these coins seems to have been the work of itinerant moneyers rather than of a centralized minting authority.[85]

It is of course plausible and even likely that coins were used to pay mercenaries in Egypt on occasion, especially in the event of mobilization. Chabrias and Agesilaus, the Greek generals employed by Tachos in the fourth century BCE, were most probably paid not in land but in precious metal, some of it undoubtedly coins. Likewise, the ten thousand Greek mercenaries hired by Tachos could well have been paid initially in tetradrachms struck in Egypt for this purpose.[86] But this would have created only sporadic bursts of minting rather than a steady output of coins, and these bursts would presumably coincide closely with periods of Egyptian military activity as documented from other sources. On the whole, mercenaries cannot have been the prime motivation for the production of imitation Athenian tetradrachms, in Egypt or elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean.

The other common explanation is that imitation tetradrachms were minted to supplement the supply of genuine Athenian issues, especially when Athenian output was interrupted or lessened. Peter van Alfen has challenged this explanation by demonstrating that the production of imitation tetradrachms does not coincide with known shortages or lapses in Athenian coin production; this is true of the anonymous imitations minted in Egypt as well.[87]

84 Kaplan, "Cross-Cultural Contacts among Mercenary Communities"; Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 199–209; Agut-Labordère, "Plus que des mercenaires!".

85 Meadows, "Athenian Coin Dies from Egypt".

86 The number of mercenaries is given by Diod. 15.92.2.

87 Van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage".

These two explanations are not entirely wrong, since either could account for the striking of tetradrachms on discrete occasions, but they both assume that these coins were struck with a view to them serving exclusively as coins among people familiar with their use. This assumption is not appropriate for fourth century Egypt. Rather, Athenian tetradrachms, whether they were minted in Athens or Egypt, were wealth products, and were used by Egyptians as a durable and portable means of storing wealth. In this respect, they were no different from *Hacksilber*, or silver statuettes, or the silver bowls from Tell el-Maskhuta. Since temples were the major economic actors and had incentives to store their wealth as silver rather than grain, it follows that they were the primary users of silver wealth objects, including coins. This is suggested by the identification of metrological systems for weighing silver bullion with certain major temples, and further implied by the author of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*' (1351a) description of Tachos' forced loan of bullion from the temples in order to help finance his military campaigns.[88] It stands to reason, then, that the tetradrachms minted in Egypt were produced by temples and other institutions from their silver stores. This suggestion is supported by an unpublished ostracon of late fifth century date from the Kharga Oasis (O.Man. 7547), which refers to "staters of the temple of Ptah".[89] This could simply mean that the stater had been fully assimilated into the temple's metrological system, but it also suggests that the author of this text associated Athenian tetradrachms with this Egyptian temple rather than with Athens. Furthermore, although many Egyptian sites had temples, it is nevertheless worth noting that the coin dies from Egypt all come from places with well-known (or at least well-documented) Late Period temples, and the findspot of the cube die from Heracleion-Thonis suggests it was at least associated with the nearby temple, and may have even been deposited there.[90]

Why temples actually struck their own tetradrachms has to do with their advantages over other wealth objects, even other silver ones. As already discussed above, the weight of the tetradrachm permitted it to fit with some ease into the existing metrological system, making it interchangeable as a coin and as bullion; even an Egyptian unfamiliar with the use of coins would not neces-

88 Vleeming, *The Gooseherds of Hou*, 87–89; Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 165–176; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 13–16; Davies, "Athenian Fiscal Expertise", 491–493; Will, "Chabrias et les finances de Tachôs".

89 Agut-Labordère, "L'orge et l'argent", 79–80.

90 Meadows, "Athenian Coin Dies from Egypt". For the temples at Sais and Athribis, see Leclère, *Les villes de Basse Égypte*, 168–182, 243–255.

sarily have any reason to chop up a tetradrachm. This is why it survives in Egyptian hoards but other coins, such as those from Asia Minor where the Chian standard was in widespread use during the fourth century, do not.[91] The Athenian tetradrachm was the most versatile wealth object available in Egypt, and this contributed significantly to its desirability. It is also worth noting that the temples, like the civic mints of the Greek world, could have turned a small profit striking tetradrachms. If five tetradrachms (86 g) were equal to one *deben* (91 g) of silver, as indicated by the Demotic papyri, then the temples could potentially have pocketed the 5 g difference. This would have defrayed the cost of production, and contributed to their overall appeal as a wealth object.

The Athenian tetradrachm has the distinction of being the first coin struck in Egypt. Its popularity there was due to its roles as a wealth object and bullion coin and its utility for users of coins and users of bullion alike. In this respect, it served as a bridge between Egyptian systems of wealth finance that had existed since the New Kingdom (if not earlier) and typically Greek approaches to money, and it provided a foundation on which the Ptolemies were later to build.

2.3 *Other Egyptian Issues*

The Athenian tetradrachm was not the only coin struck in Egypt before the Ptolemies; there were also two different gold issues and several assorted fractions. Unlike the tetradrachms, these issues represented attempts by issuing authorities (especially the pharaohs Tachos and Nectanebo II) to introduce a full system of coinage to Egypt, especially since none of these issues seems to have been intended to supplant the tetradrachm. These attempts, however, were unsuccessful, because these coins did not share the tetradrachm's dual functionality as bullion and coin, and many of these other issues were converted to *Hacksilber* just like most of the other coins that found their way to Egypt in this period.

One of the gold issues is known only from a single example. This is the gold stater of Tachos now in the British Museum (Figure 4.5).[92] This coin features a helmeted Athena on the obverse and an owl and papyrus plant on the reverse. The reverse also includes the Greek legend ΤΑΩ, which is understood to be a reference to Tachos. This coin weighs 8.3 g, which puts it in line with the Persian standard rather than the Attic. It is difficult to say much about this coin,

91 See Meadows, "The Chian Revolution", for the use of the Chian standard in Asia Minor.

92 BM 1925,0808.1; van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 23; Nicolet-Pierre, "Les monnaies en Égypte", 12; Müller-Wollermann, "Foreign Coins in Late Period Egypt", 322.

FIGURE 4.5 *AU stater of Tachos*

given its status as a singleton, but it does seem to fit a broader pattern of fourth century pharaonic coinage, for which the other gold issue under discussion is the prime evidence.

This other issue consists of a series of gold staters with a prancing horse on the obverse and a hieroglyphic inscription on the reverse (Figure 4.6).[93] The hieroglyphic inscription consists of the signs *nfr* (the windpipe and heart of a cow), meaning "good", and *nbw* (a necklace with pendants hanging off it), meaning "gold". Together, they can be read as a simple adjectival sentence, i.e. "the gold is good".[94] The prancing horse has strikingly close parallels among the gold coins issued by Dionysius I at Syracuse at the very end of the fifth century, but it is a sufficiently generic motif that the resemblance is probably coincidental. The weights of these coins vary from 7.9 to 8.9 g, making it difficult to identify the standard on which they were minted. The daric is a distinct possibility, and the Attic standard has also been suggested, since this was the standard on which Philip II struck his gold staters.[95] Whatever the intended

93 Bolshakov, "The Earliest Known Pharaonic Coin"; van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 23–24; Nicolet-Pierre, "Les monnaies en Égypte", 12–13; Müller-Wollermann, "Foreign Coins in Late Period Egypt", 323; Dumke, "Gutes Gold"; Faucher et al. "Les monnaies en or aux types hiéroglyphiques nwb nfr".

94 Dumke, "Gutes Gold"; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 34–35. I am grateful to Terry Wilfong for discussion and explication of this inscription.

95 Nicolet-Pierre, "Les monnaies en Égypte", 13. A list of weights is given in Faucher et al., "Les monnaies en or types hiéroglyphiques nwb nfr", 148–151, 155.

FIGURE 4.6 *AU stater of Nectanebo II*

standard was, it was not adhered to very strictly. Some forty-seven examples are known, albeit from only six dies (three obverse and three reverse), suggesting an issue of limited size.[96]

These coins were attributed to Nectanebo II by Kenneth Jenkins, and this attribution has stuck.[97] The basis for it is the presence of one of them in *IGCH* 1654, a hoard consisting primarily of gold staters of Philip II. This provides a rough *terminus ante quem* for the issue of about 330, and assuming that the Achaemenid satraps of Egypt during the Second Persian Period did not mint gold coins, Nectanebo II is the most likely candidate; his long reign makes this attribution more probable. Jenkins also uses the similarity in fabric between these *nfr nbw* staters and Philip's gold issues as a dating criterion. Certainly, this attribution is reasonable enough, and it raises the question of what role these coins played in the political economy of the fourth century. As gold coins, they would have been far too valuable for use in interpersonal transactions, and the unevenness of the weights would have further inhibited their use as anything other than bullion. Thus it is difficult to understand these coins in a strictly economic context.

It light of this difficulty, Gunnar Dumke's recent re-examination of the political function of these coins is especially appealing.[98] He argues that these coins served to bridge the gap between the Greek mercenaries serving in Egypt,

96 Faucher et al., "Les monnaies en or types hiéroglyphiques nwb nfr", 161–163.

97 Jenkins, "Greek Coins Recently Acquired by the British Museum", 150; see further Faucher at al., "Les monnaies en or types hiéroglyphiques nwb nfr", 159–160.

98 Dumke, "Gutes Gold".

especially high status ones like Agesilaus, and the Egyptian elite. The hieroglyphs, which quoted a phrase going back to the New Kingdom, served to link Nectanebo to earlier powerful pharaohs, and the horse, which appears in various guises on a variety of Greek coins, is a reference to agonistic competition, and by extension to the glory of victory. Thus, these coins were presented as markers of royal esteem which were intelligible to Egyptians as wealth products and to Greeks (and Phoenicians) as coins; that they were presented only to a small number of people explains the limited overall size of the issue. It is worth noting here as well that the gold coins issued by Darius I around 500 have been interpreted similarly, since they served as a vehicle for disseminating imperial ideology, especially to the local elites of Asia Minor who were already familiar with the phenomenon of royal coinage.[99] Also, with few exceptions, gold coins in the Greek world were minted exclusively by kings like Darius, Dionysius I, or Philip II, or by cities facing fiscal emergencies, so Nectanebo's issuing of gold coins (and Tachos' as well) was in essence an announcement to the eastern Mediterranean world of his royal status, an announcement very much in keeping with his other activities, such as his extensive temple building.[100] Furthermore, as will be seen below, Nectanebo's use of coins as an integrative force in his kingdom prefigures Ptolemaic objectives for monetization, albeit on a much more limited scale.

In addition to these two gold issues, several different fractional issues in both silver and bronze are attributed to fourth century Egypt (Table 4.2).[101] Some of these can be associated with specific individuals; otherwise they are nearly impossible to date with any precision. Furthermore, many of them are singletons, which further limits what can be said about them. The silver fractions include several examples featuring Athena on the obverse and an owl on the reverse. Some also bear the hieroglyph *wꜥh*, meaning "lasting", on the reverse. On one coin, the ethnic reads ΝΑΥ instead of ΑΘΕ, leading to the suggestion that this coin was issued by the city of Naucratis.[102] There are also two silver coins minted from the same die with Athena on the obverse and two eagles framing the hieroglyph *nfr* on the reverse. As a result of this inscription, these

99 Nimchuk, "The 'Archers' of Darius"; Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 130–140.

100 For the minting of gold coins in the Classical period, see Melville Jones, "Ancient Greek Gold Coinage". For Nectanebo's temple construction activities, see Minas-Nerpel, this volume.

101 Van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 20–24; Müller-Wollermann, "Foreign Coins in Late Period Egypt", 321–322. I have not included the fractions which van Alfen considers not to have been minted in Egypt.

102 Bussi, "Naukratis e l'inizio della monetazione ellenistica".

TABLE 4.2A *Fourth century fractional issues in silver by weight*

Reference	Series/issuer	Type	Weight (g)
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 32	Mazaces	Athena/owl	4.09
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 23	misc.	Athena/owl	3.88
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 23	misc.	Athena/owl	0.88
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 30	Sabaces	trireme/heroic encounter	0.70
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 22	Naucratis	Athena/owl	0.64
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 23	misc.	Athena/owl	0.57
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 24	"Nectanebo II"	Athena/*nfr*	0.56
Goyon, "La plus ancienne (?) monnaie frappée en Égypte"	misc.	owl (obv. illegible)	0.56
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 20	*wꜥh*	Athena/owl	0.53
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 20	*wꜥh*	Athena/owl	0.50
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 24	"Nectanebo II"	Athena/*nfr*	0.50
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 20	*wꜥh*	Athena/owl	0.48
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 20	*wꜥh*	Athena/owl	0.42
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 30	Sabaces	trireme/heroic encounter	0.41

coins have been attributed to Nectanebo II, as have a series of bronze fractions featuring a leaping gazelle or goat on the obverse and a set of balance scales on the reverse.[103] However, none of the three known examples of the bronze issues are even said to come from Egypt, so the attribution is tenuous (though it is retained in the table for ease of reference).

When sorted by weight, some distinct denominations can be identified, namely silver drachms and obols.[104] Some of the smaller silver fractions, especially the *wꜥh* series, may be underweight obols. Perhaps they were even deliberately underweight in order to constitute a twentieth of a *kite* of silver, and were therefore minted to fit in with the Egyptian system of weighed bullion, rather than with any one system of coinage. However, on the whole, the small number of examples of each of these fractions and the wide variety in weight indicate that these fractional issues were small and likely ephemeral. There is also vari-

103 Weiser, *Katalog ptolemäischer Bronzemünzen*, no. 1; Ronde, "Contribution au monnayage pré-alexandrin"; Dumke, "Gutes Gold", 84–87.

104 *CoinH* 5.15 and 10.439 also contain drachms, though their weights are not recorded.

TABLE 4.2B *Fourth century fractional issues in bronze by weight*

Reference	Series/issuer	Type	Weight (g)
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 24	"Nectanebo II"	goat/balance	4.31
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 24	"Nectanebo II"	goat/balance	4.25
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 24	"Nectanebo II"	goat/balance	2.56
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 31	Sabaces	lion/archer	1.52
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 31	Sabaces	male head/archer	1.51
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 32	Mazaces	male head/archer	1.41
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 31	Sabaces	lion/archer	1.18
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 31	Sabaces	male head/archer	1.07
BM G.0793	Mazaces	male head (rev. illeg.)	1.07
Van Alfen, "The 'Owls'", 31	Sabaces	male head/archer	0.98

ety in the issuers. A number of these fractions can be attributed to Sabaces and Mazaces, the last two Achaemenid satraps (see below).

The ephemerality of these gold and fractional issues illustrates the nature of coin use in fourth century Egypt. The Athenian tetradrachm was a bullion coin, and amounts of silver that were not easily divisible by 17.2g were made up with a combination of tetradrachms and *Hacksilber*, as suggested by their occurrence together in hoards (see Table 4.1). Thus, fractional coins, though useful for this purpose, were not necessary, and many of them were probably cut up or melted down rather swiftly after minting. Even a Greek or Phoenician widely versed in the coinages of their respective homelands would not have recognized these coins and would therefore have had no basis for trusting their weight or metal content. The gold coins would not have circulated much anyway, and therefore would have had a negligible impact on Egyptian monetary practice, and their purpose was related to prestige rather than to any specific economic goal. The Athenian tetradrachm was the only coin widely used in Egypt as such, and this situation prevailed through the Second Persian Period and up to the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy I. Indeed, the coins discussed in the following section demonstrate the success of the tetradrachm as a form of money in fourth century Egypt, even in the face of significant political changes.

FIGURE 4.7 *AR tetradrachm of Artaxerxes III*

3 The Second Persian Period

In 343/2, the Achaemenids took control of Egypt once more and ruled it until the arrival of Alexander in 332, though during this period a shadowy figure named Khababash was recognized as pharaoh, probably between 338 and 336.[105] During this short period Athenian tetradrachms, primarily pi-style tetradrachms, and imitations of them continued to play an important role in the Egyptian political economy. Additionally, three series of marked imitation Athenian tetradrachms were issued bearing the names of Artaxerxes, Sabaces, and Mazaces in place of the usual ethnic ΑΘΕ on the reverse.[106] These tetradrachms suggest continuities with the preceding period in the Egyptian political economy, and they raise the same questions as the other imitations discussed above, namely where and why were they struck.

All of these coins share the same types as the Athenian tetradrachm, on the whole resembling on stylistic grounds those of the fourth century rather than the fifth (Figures 4.7–4.8).[107] They also all seem to be aspiring to the Attic weight

105 Depuydt's proposal for 340/39 as the start of the Second Persian Period has much to recommend it; see Depuydt, "New Date". For Khababash, see Burstein, "Prelude to Alexander".

106 'Marked' refers to the fact that the legends on these coins indicate their non-Athenian origin; see van Alfen, "Problems in Ancient Imitative and Counterfeit Coinage", 333–336.

107 For much of what follows, see van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 24–32; see also Anderson and van Alfen, "A Fourth Century BCE Hoard", 163–164, van Alfen, "Mechanisms for the Imitation of Athenian Coinage", 71–73, and the forthcoming die study of

FIGURE 4.8 *AR tetradrachm of Sabaces*

standard, though certain individual examples are somewhat light. The coins in the name of Artaxerxes are clearly attributable to Artaxerxes III, because of the inclusion in the 1989 Syria hoard (*CoinH* 8.158), which must date to the 330s, of some very fresh examples of them.[108] Van Alfen has distinguished four different variations of this coin among the twenty-three known examples of it. Three of these (van Alfen's Types I–III) bear inscriptions that clearly read "Artaxerxes pharaoh" in Demotic. Coins of the fourth variation (Type IV) have multiple unintelligible inscriptions, some of which seem to consist of Aramaic letters. These coins have close stylistic affinities to those of Type III, which is the reason for their attribution to Artaxerxes. A few examples also include the words *ankh, wedj, seneb*, again in Demotic, a pious Egyptian vow that follows the pharaoh's name and means "life, prosperity, health."[109]

Coins of Type I are distinguished from the other three variations by their fifth century appearance, in keeping with the Buttrey types; Types II–IV bear a strong resemblance to the pi-style tetradrachms minted at Athens starting in 353. Sabaces and Mazaces were the penultimate and final Achaemenid satraps of Egypt, serving under Darius III, and are known from the Greek accounts of Alexander's campaigns.[110] Both issued pi-style tetradrachms bearing their

these issues by Agnieszka Wojciechowska, which is to be published soon. I am grateful to her for sharing an advance version of it with me.

108 Van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 14; Mørkholm, "A Coin of Artaxerxes III".

109 Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 1–4.

110 See references in Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great*, 156, 246.

names in Aramaic. At least fifty-five examples of Sabaces' coins are known in three varieties, and at least eight in the name of Mazaces, no doubt reflecting his short tenure as satrap. In addition to the names, these coins are distinguishable by symbols on the reverse that always co-occur with one of the names. For Sabaces, this symbol might represent a lightning bolt; Mazaces' symbol is a raised dot.

The coins of Artaxerxes especially present a number of peculiarities that are difficult to explain. This is the only issue on which the name of an individual Great King is given, so it does not fit the prevailing pattern of the Achaemenid imperial issues. It is also the only issue bearing an inscription in Demotic, which, despite the coin's clearly Greek appearance, seems to indicate that an Egyptian audience was intended. Scholarly opinion thus diverges between the view that these coins were meant to reinforce Egypt's subjugation in a manner intelligible to the Egyptians themselves, and the view that these coins were meant to be familiar and therefore reassuring to the Egyptians so that they would be accepting of foreign rule.[111] There is also the problem of explaining the four variations on this coin. Van Alfen suggests that these are chronological variations, and that the transition from Type I to Types II–IV reflects an attempt to imitate more closely the pi-style tetradrachms minted at Athens beginning in 353.[112] However, as he notes, this does not explain the differences in the Demotic inscriptions. Instead, these variations can be explained by decentralized minting. As has been argued above, the minting of imitation tetradrachms in Egypt in the first half of the fourth century was carried out by traveling moneyers in the employ of temples and other institutions with stores of bullion. As shown by the Heracleion die, this practice continued well into mid-century when imitations of pi-style tetradrachms were being made. Enterprising moneyers or their priestly employers may have produced these dies in response to the change in regime. This explains the choice of Demotic as the language of the inscription, and the variations in the inscription reflect the hands of different die carvers.[113]

The coins of Sabaces and Mazaces do seem to belong to a single mint, and this, along with their Aramaic inscriptions, indicates centralized production under the aegis of the satrap. The impetus for this centralized production is not known, but it is quite possible that Sabaces was familiar with the coins issued by Achaemenid satraps throughout the western half of the empire in the

111 E.g. van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 41; Mildenberg, "Money Supply under Artaxerxes III Ochus", 281–282.

112 Van Alfen, "The 'Owls' from the 1989 Syria Hoard", 42.

113 Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, 1–2.

fourth century, and regarded the absence of centralized minting in Egypt as a deficiency. Accordingly, he began issuing coins in his own name, but retained the type and weight of the Athenian tetradrachm because of its trenchancy in Egypt. He also issued fractions as part of his effort to supply Egypt with a currency. The Sidonian appearance of some of his fractional issues may provide some hint as to where Sabaces developed his notions of coinage, namely while serving in some imperial capacity in Phoenicia, which by this time featured several mints and widespread familiarity with coined money. Mazaces, who succeeded Sabaces when the latter led the Egyptian military contingent to face Alexander at Issus in 333, seems to have followed closely the minting practice of his predecessor. Furthermore, neither satrap seems to have actively prohibited the minting of imitation Athenian tetradrachms by temples (or anyone else); presumably they saw no need to upset existing economic structures.

The persistence of the Athenian tetradrachm as the prototype for fourth century Egyptian issues under Achaemenid rule is indicative of its continued special status in Egypt. Its role as a point of conversion between coin users and bullion users is attested once more in a Demotic marriage contract, P.Libbey, dating to the first year of Pharaoh Khababash (probably 337), wherein the equation of five staters to the *deben* is repeated once more.[114] As before, the appeal of this coin was its versatility as both coin and bullion, and the issues in the names of Artaxerxes, Sabaces, and Mazaces circulated alongside anonymous imitations in Egypt and further afield in the Near East, as indicated by the hoard evidence (*IGCH* 1662; *CoinH* 7.188; 8.158; 10.244). The presence of these coins in Syria and Mesopotamia may be the result of their use for tribute payments, though the Sabaces and Mazaces issues may also have served as loot or pay for Alexander's army, and been transported eastwards as a result.

4 Egypt under Alexander

Under Alexander, Egypt was initially divided into two satrapies, but when the satrap of Lower Egypt, Petisis, resigned, the two satrapies were recombined under Doloaspis, formerly satrap of Upper Egypt. By 328/7, Doloaspis had been replaced by Cleomenes of Naucratis, a financial official of some kind, who ruled Egypt until Ptolemy had him killed early in his reign.[115] For the most part, these

114 Cruz-Uribe, "Papyrus Libbey".

115 Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt"; Baynham, "Cleomenes of Naucratis"; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 16–18.

eleven years are invisible in the numismatic record. Martin Price has suggested that three small bronze coins excavated at Saqqara, as well as two other examples known to him, featured portraits of Alexander, in large part because he interpreted the headdress on the obverse as an Achaemenid royal tiara.[116] He believed these coins were minted at Memphis, prior to the establishment of the Alexandria mint, and thus date to the brief period Alexander spent in Egypt in 332/1. This identification, however, is tenuous. The minting of such coins would have been quite exceptional for Alexander during his lifetime, since the coins that do depict him are all posthumous (with the possible exception of the so-called "Porus medallions"). The identification of the headdress is also much less certain than Price asserts, and could well be a Phrygian cap, an attribute of many mythological figures. Finally, it would be somewhat odd for these coins to be struck on their own rather than as part of a trimetallic or bimetallic monetary system. In short, given these uncertainties, and the limited number of examples, these coins cannot be taken as firm evidence that Alexander minted coins in Egypt.[117]

The other coinage of Alexander associated with Egypt and Cleomenes in particular comprises five issues of Alexander tetradrachms identified by Edward Newell in the Damanhur hoard (*IGCH* 1664) and dated by him to 326/5. Though this attribution is sound enough, given that the hoard was buried in Egypt c. 318, it is more probable that these Egyptian issues were minted in the years immediately before the burial of the hoard. Thus, it is possible that Cleomenes minted Alexander tetradrachms starting in 324, but these coins need not date to Alexander's or to Cleomenes' lifetime. Rather, it seems that Cleomenes, and Petisis and Doloaspis before him, did not mint coins in their own names, but instead continued the fourth century practice of using imitation Athenian tetradrachms struck by the temples. This is in keeping with Alexander's practice of maintaining, rather than uprooting, existing economic and administrative practices in Egypt and elsewhere in his empire.[118]

As the first coin struck in Egypt and the most widely used there, the Athenian tetradrachm became an important form of money during the fourth century. Since it was a bullion coin rather than a fiduciary coinage, its importance illustrates simultaneously the extent of the use of coins as money and also its limitations. It was not until the Ptolemaic period that institutions were introduced that supported the use of coins as money, and, in the absence of these

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116 Price, "A Portrait of Alexander the Great from Egypt".

117 Le Rider, *Alexander the Great*, 171–179.

118 Le Rider, *Alexander the Great*, 191–197; for *IGCH* 1664 see Duyrat, "Le trésor de Damanhour" and Visonà, "Twenty-Two Alexanders".

institutions, coins continued to be wealth products, circulating alongside other forms of money. But, as is examined further in the next section, the production and use of the tetradrachm in the fourth century had an appreciable impact on the efforts of the Ptolemaic kings to monetize the Egyptian economy.

5 Continuity and Change in the Early Ptolemaic Economy

Ptolemy's arrival and assumption of power in Egypt following the death of Alexander is typically regarded as a critical juncture in the monetary history of Egypt. This is incontrovertible, but, as recent research has shown, the monetization of the Egyptian economy was effected slowly and only with much concerted effort, beginning with Ptolemy himself and continuing at least to the end of the third century, if not later.[119] The steps taken by the Ptolemaic rulers in furtherance of this goal were not made in isolation, but were instead taken in reaction to prevailing economic conditions. Thus an examination of continuity and change is illustrative of the impact of the political economy of the fourth century on the creation of the economy of Hellenistic Egypt.

One of the first and most obvious changes was the establishment of a royal mint, first in Memphis and shortly thereafter in Alexandria. At first the mint issued tetradrachms on the Attic weight standard, in keeping with the normal practice of both Alexander and the rest of the successor kingdoms, but this also meant that these new tetradrachms could function in the existing wealth finance system, since the equivalency of one *deben* to five staters still applied. At the same time, the Athenian tetradrachm disappears entirely from Egyptian hoards. The abruptness of this disappearance can only be intentional, presumably the result of a deliberate policy to demonetize them, ordered by Ptolemy both to undermine temple minting operations and to provide silver for his new coinage.[120] Indeed, it is quite likely that temple bullion stores were tapped by the royal mints, at least initially, and these would have included many of the Athenian tetradrachms circulating in Egypt at the time. Around 305, Ptolemy introduced the first of his reduced weight silver issues, with a tetradrachm of 15.7 g, and this was further reduced in subsequent years to 14.9 g and ultimately 14.2 g by about 294.[121] These reductions are typically interpreted as part of a closed currency system, in which foreign coins had to be exchanged for

119 Von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*.

120 I owe the suggestion of a deliberate, politically motivated demonetization of the Athenian tetradrachm to Cathy Lorber, and I am grateful to her for sharing her ideas with me.

121 Lorber, "A Revised Chronology" and "The Coinage of the Ptolemies", 211–214.

Ptolemaic ones with the same face value, but of lower weight, thus bolstering Egypt's limited silver supplies and providing a tidy profit to the royal treasury.[122] However, these reductions would also have driven any remaining full weight tetradrachms, Athenian and Ptolemaic alike, out of circulation entirely, as per Gresham's Law. Indeed, von Reden has even argued that the closed currency system in Egypt was not a deliberate policy, but rather a result of reduced weight tetradrachms forcing the foreign Attic weight ones out of circulation.[123] These reductions would also have competed with the use of bullion as money, for the same reason, and this had the added benefit of protecting silver coins from being cut up into *Hacksilber* once they came into the possession of someone who used bullion rather than coins as money.

At any rate, the deliberateness of this displacement of temple coin issues by royal ones is suggested by other reforms aimed at undermining the economic power of the temples. This is nicely demonstrated by the case of the *apomoira*, a harvest tax in kind on vineyards and orchards. According to P.Revenue Laws, under Ptolemy II the collection of this tax was made the responsibility of tax farmers instead of temple personnel, with most of the proceeds going to support the state cult of Arsinoe II and only a small portion being returned to the temples themselves.[124] In the context of the staple finance model articulated above, this was not a major change, as the pharaoh was simply replacing the temples as the infrastructure he used to exploit the agricultural wealth of Egypt with an institution more directly under his control. This was also the purpose of the royal mint.

Yet, despite these reforms there are nevertheless clear continuities in the role played by temples in the political economy of Ptolemaic Egypt. There is good evidence that one temple continued to strike its own coins down into the second century. In the winter of 2008–2009, the remains of a mint were discovered in a mudbrick structure in the temple of Amun at Karnak.[125] The size of the structure and the remains there are suggestive of a modest operation and not an official mint, but this scale is seemingly commensurate with the temple minting operations of the fourth century, with bronze playing a greater role than it had previously. Similarly, the "stones of Ptah" continued to be used as a weight standard for silver in Demotic documents, with the lat-

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122 De Callataÿ, "L'instauration par Ptolémée Ier Soter d'une économie monétaire fermée".

123 Von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 43–48.

124 Clarysse and Vandorpe, "The Ptolemaic *Apomoira*"; see Vandorpe, "The Ptolemaic *Epigraphe*" and "Agriculture, Temples, and Tax Law", and Thompson, "Economic Reforms in the Mid-Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus", for examples of other similar measures.

125 Faucher et al., "Un atelier monétaire".

est instance dating to 21 CE.[126] The use of this phrase in the Ptolemaic period is often regarded as a meaningless archaism, and though the language of Demotic contracts is often oblique by modern legal standards, the long survival of this phrase indicates the longevity of the association of the temple of Ptah with silver bullion. Certainly there is good evidence that temples continued to function as economic institutions. In P.Eleph.Gr. 10, dating to 222, a Greek letter from one fiscal administrator to his subordinate in Edfu, there are clear references to banks and granaries within the temple there, and other documents indicate the production of beer, linen, and papyrus there as well.[127] This letter and others like it indicate state (i.e. pharaonic) oversight (if not outright control) of these economic functions, apparently to a greater degree than in earlier periods, but the practice of using temple infrastructure to support the pharaoh's economic activities has clear precedents in earlier periods.

There are also continuities and changes evident in the use of coins by individuals. As in earlier periods, coin hoards were largely restricted to Lower Egypt; between 323 and 31 BCE, only twelve hoards are known from Upper Egypt, with five of them coming from inside or around the Karnak temple and two more from Karnak and Luxor generally.[128] Likewise, a majority of the excavated Ptolemaic coins also occur in Lower Egypt.[129] Given the conventional wisdom that the deposition and failure to recover coin hoards typically accompanies political instability, the absence of many hoards in Upper Egypt, despite the occurrence of several revolts there, is highly suggestive of the limited use of coins, or at the very least, in light of the excavated coins, a preference for the storage of wealth in forms other than coinage.[130] Greek veterans and immigrants settling in the Delta and the Fayum would be more predisposed towards the use of coins than the Egyptians, and this no doubt bolstered the number of

126 Vargyas, *From Elephantine to Babylon*, 165; the document is P.Michigan 347 (Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 180–183).

127 Manning, "The Capture of the Thebaid", 7–8; see also Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 23–24; Manning, *The Last Pharaohs*, 117–120 and Clarysse, "The Archive of the Praktor Milon".

128 Duyrat, "Le trésor de Damanhour". The hoards are *IGCH* 1670 (c. 305 BCE, from Qift), *CoinH* 10.448 (c. 240, from Tuna el-Gebel), *CoinH* 10.450 (late 3rd cen., from Luxor), *CoinH* 10.451 and 452 (c. 205, from Karnak temple), *CoinH* 10.453 (c. 205, from Nag Hammadi), *CoinH* 10.454 (c. 200, from Karnak temple), *IGCH* 1702 (c. 180, from Asyut), *CoinH* 10.459 (c. 150–125, from Karnak temple), *IGCH* 1708 (c. 144, from Qena), *CoinH* 3.64 (c. 100, from Karnak), and *CoinH* 10.463 (c. 59, from Karnak temple).

129 Faucher, "Circulation monétaire en Égypte hellénistique".

130 For the revolts see Véïsse, *Les "révoltes égyptiennes"*.

hoards in the north, but, as in earlier periods, this wider use of coins was mainly a result of closer contacts with coin-using foreign merchants. Egypt also continued to export grain under the Ptolemies, and there can be little doubt that papyrus, natron, linen, and now cotton were also exported abroad.[131] For reasons of distance and uninterest, the people and temples of Upper Egypt did not participate in Mediterranean trade to the same degree, though this may be in part explained by a focus instead on trade to the south and east, regions that were also new to coinage and undergoing comparable changes.

In addition to the hoards, there are also textual references that provide clues as to the extent and nature of coin use by individuals. Of particular note is the persistence of the equivalency of one *deben* of silver to five staters (i.e. tetradrachms) in Demotic documents, which occurs as late as 60 BCE.[132] This is especially noteworthy in light of the reductions of the weight of the tetradrachm under Ptolemy I, and the introduction of large bronze issues under Ptolemy II and III, which were intended to supplant silver coins in regular use.[133] It is not clear whether this was simply an anachronistic way of referring to coins, or if the weight of the *deben* was actually pegged to that of the tetradrachm. Regardless, these references are suggestive of an approach to coin use that still treated them as bullion rather than coins, at least in writing.[134] It is interesting too that the largest bronze coins issued under Ptolemy III were the same weight as the old fourth century *deben*; there was also a 72 g bronze coin, which would have been roughly the same weight as five of the reduced weight tetradrachms. If one of these two coins was actually intended to be a *deben*, then there was seemingly some attempt to relate the new bronze coins to the old, pre-coinage weight system. It has even been suggested that the bronze coinage, which was fiduciary, was deliberately made the same weight as the amount of silver it supposedly represented.[135] Likewise, as noted above, references to the "stones of Ptah" as a weight standard for silver also continue into the Roman period. Again, it is difficult to determine whether this was a traditional way of referring to coined money or if it actually indicates the use of bullion; probably, it refers to the use of coins as bullion, with bronze largely

131 Buraselis, "Ptolemaic Grain, Seaways and Power".

132 In P.Cairo 50149 (Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, 136–139). I know of some forty-seven occurrences dating to between 315 and 60 BCE; see discussions in Maresch, *Bronze und Silber*, 21–51 and Hayden, "Demotic 'Marriage Documents'".

133 Lorber, "Development of Ptolemaic Bronze Coinage", and "The Coinage of the Ptolemies", 216–218; von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 58–78.

134 Hayden, "Demotic 'Marriage Documents'".

135 Gorre, "P.Berlin 13593", 83–85; see also Picard, "Remarques sur la monnaie de bronze".

replacing silver in the early second century.[136] At the very least, these references to *deben* show that among certain segments of the Egyptian population coins were still regarded as bullion.

The foregoing continuities and changes illustrate the various ways in which the political economy of the fourth century affected the monetary reforms made by the early Ptolemaic rulers. Since the Ptolemies sought to monetize the Egyptian economy as part of a political agenda, they had to target their reforms at institutions that promoted alternatives to the normal Greek practice of using coins exclusively as money.[137] Foremost among such institutions were the temples, which struck imitation Athenian tetradrachms that served as both coins and bullion, and, in the case of the temple of Ptah, also set the weight standards used for silver bullion. This made them direct competitors with the Ptolemaic regime, whose goal was to create a monetary system focused on the pharaoh and the court at Alexandria. Accordingly, these were the institutions that the Ptolemies sought most to undermine and neutralize by integrating them more closely into their own power structures.[138] But the production of these bullion coins by temples also provided a crucial bridge between coins and bullion that, if not exploited deliberately by the Ptolemies, nevertheless furthered the process of monetization. Finally, the incompleteness of the monetization of Egypt in the face of measures—such as the introduction of a poll tax payable exclusively in bronze coins—deliberately designed to propagate the use of coins as money attests to both the variability of Egyptian responses to Ptolemaic rule and the inveteracy of certain economic behaviours, behaviours originating in the political economy of the fourth century and earlier periods.[139]

Abbreviations

CoinH *Coin Hoards* vols. 1–10. 1975–2010. London: Royal Numismatic Society / New York: American Numismatic Society.

IGCH Thompson, M. et al. (eds.). 1973. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*. New York: American Numismatic Society. http://coinhoards.org/

136 Manning, "Coinage as 'Code' in Ptolemaic Egypt", 96–97.

137 The political aspects of monetization are especially emphasized by von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, and Manning, "Coinage as 'Code' in Ptolemaic Egypt", and *The Last Pharaohs*, 130–138.

138 Manning, *The Last Pharaohs*, 73–116.

139 For the Ptolemaic 'salt tax' (actually a poll tax), see von Reden, *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt*, 65–67; Monson, "Egyptian Fiscal History", 19.

TADAE Porten, B. and A. Yardeni. 1986–1999. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.

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CHAPTER 5

Pharaoh and Temple Building in the Fourth Century BCE*

Martina Minas-Nerpel

1 Introduction

The fourth century BCE was a period of widespread transformation, marked by the transition from the Oriental empires to the Hellenistic states, in which Egypt played a central role. After the first Persian Period (525–404/1), the Twenty-eighth (405/401–399) and Twenty-ninth Dynasties (399–380) were short-lived and seem to have been undermined by competition for the throne.[1] The rulers were also struggling to repel Persian invasions. It is therefore not astonishing that there are very few traces of temple building or decoration from this short period, which might nonetheless have paved the way for further developments.[2] According to Neal Spencer, significant temple building was probably planned in the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, but there is no way to prove this. He suggests that much of the cultural renaissance which is attested for the Thirtieth Dynasty may "represent a flourishing of trends nascent in the previous dynasty".[3]

Nectanebo I Nekhetnebef (380–362) and Nectanebo II Nekhethorheb (360–342) of the Thirtieth Dynasty were the last great native pharaohs of Egypt.

* I am most grateful to Paul McKechnie and Jennifer A. Cromwell for the invitation to a very stimulating conference, to John Baines for reading a draft of the chapter and his valuable critical remarks, to Francisco Bosch-Puche for sending me his articles on Alexander ("The Egyptian Royal Titulary of Alexander the Great" I and II) before publication, to Dietrich Raue for information on Heliopolis, to Daniela Rosenow for fig. 5.3, and to Troy L. Sagrillo for fig. 5.5.

1 All dates according to von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. For the historical background, see Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire*, 35–48.

2 Collected by Kienitz, *Politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 122–123; Traunecker, "Essai sur l'histoire de la XXIXe Dynastie", 407–419; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 99–105; Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König …"*, 347–350; see also Phillips, *Columns of Egypt*, 157–158 and fig. 306–307. For the context, see Myśliwiec, *Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, 158–176, and Ladynin "Late Dynastic Period".

3 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 47.

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Nectanebo I, a general from Sebennytos in the Delta, usurped the throne from Nepherites II, the last king of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, and was crowned king of Egypt at Sais, the former capital city of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the western Delta.[4] The key political event in his eighteen-year reign was the defeat of the Persian forces attempting to invade Egypt in 373. For Egypt, Nectanebo I began a period of great prosperity, which is reflected in massive temple construction, from the first cataract region to the Delta, as well as in the oases of the western desert (for details, see below). His co-regent for two years and successor, Teos (or Tachos; 364/62–360), moved into Palestine; but soon, in 360, his nephew Nectanebo II was placed on the throne. Nectanebo II continued the building activity on a large scale. The Thirtieth Dynasty left an impressive legacy of temple construction at the major sites of Egypt, so that the sacred landscape changed considerably and with long-lasting effects.[5] This legacy also demonstrates the economic effectiveness of the Thirtieth Dynasty. Nectanebo II, the last native pharaoh, repelled a Persian invasion in 350 and ruled until 342, when Artaxerxes III conquered Egypt and the second Persian Period of Egypt began.

In the turmoil of the second Persian Period from 343 to 332, no temple seems to have been built; at least, nothing has been found so far. Unfinished building projects of the Thirtieth Dynasty were only completed after the liberation from the Persians, mainly in the early Ptolemaic period.

With the victories of Alexander the Great, the Persian Empire disintegrated, and he took the land by the Nile without resistance.[6] Under his reign, Egyptian temples were extended and decorated at crucial points (see below). Although his two Macedonian successors never visited Egypt—neither his brother Philip Arrhidaios nor his son Alexander IV—their cartouches can be found on some Egyptian monuments, which suggests that the building projects continued,

4 Nectanebo I took the throne name Kheperkara (von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 226–227), which refers back to Senwosret I of the Twelfth Dynasty. It seems that he wanted to evoke the grandeur of his predecessors, referring to a time before the Persian rulers conquered Egypt. Artistic traditions of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty were taken up again and developed (Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 47).

5 For collections of data and short discussions of the construction programmes of the Thirtieth Dynasty, see Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König …"*, 351–360; Jenni, *Die Dekoration des Chnumtempels*, 87–100; Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 47–52. For the historical background, see also Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire*, 145–198.

6 Hölbl, *History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, 9–12, 77–80. Chauveau, "L'Égypte en transition", discusses the transition of Egypt from Persian to Macedonian rulers. See also Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire*, 199–209.

probably under some influence from Ptolemy the Satrap, who ruled Egypt *de facto* as absolute autocrat.

The Ptolemies carried to fruition the political aspiration of the Thirtieth Dynasty, the creation of a once more powerful Egyptian empire that dominated the Eastern Mediterranean for a time. Large new temples were built and unfinished sacred projects were completed. Ptolemy I Soter, following Alexander's example, recognized temple building as a critical element in Egyptian kingship and engaged with it, perhaps not on the same scale as his son and successor Ptolemy II,[7] but quite noticeably.

This essay does not present a complete list of temple building sites in Egypt of the fourth century BCE, but rather concentrates on some major sites where temple construction was undertaken, looking into specific features that were developed and asking why and how far sacred landscapes in Egypt changed in this period of transition under the last native pharaohs, Alexander, and his immediate successors including Ptolemy I Soter, as well as reflecting on possible (cross-) cultural relevance, especially for the usurpers and/or foreign rulers of the period.

When looking at the sites, we need to bear in mind that only a small proportion of ancient temples is preserved, due to the normal reuse of older temples as building material during antiquity and subsequent periods, the burning of stone for lime, earthquakes, and other factors that changed the landscape substantially, not only for modern visitors but already in antiquity. This is especially true for sites in the Delta, a bias that considerably distorts our picture of the construction programmes. Before exploring specific sites and their temple buildings, I give a short description of the Egyptian temple as the reflection of the cosmos, in order to outline the religious and cultural basis on which these temples were built.

7 Ptolemy II Philadelphos' building programme has never been discussed in a dedicated publication, as has been done for Ptolemy I Soter (Swinnen, "Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée Ier"), Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (Minas, "Die Dekorationstätigkeit", 1 and 2), and Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy X Alexander I (Caßor-Pfeiffer, "Zur Reflexion ptolemäischer Geschichte", 1 and 2). Chauveau, "L'Égypte en transition", 390–395, and Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König ..."*, 361–363, and Ladynin "The Argeadai building program in Egypt", 223–228, present lists of attestations for the Macedonian rulers Alexander the Great, Philip Arrhidaios, and Alexander IV; see Bosch-Puche ("Egyptian Royal Titulary of Alexander the Great", I and II) for Alexander the Great.

2 The Egyptian Temple as Model of the Cosmos

Temples are amongst the most striking elements in the ancient Egyptian civilisation, from the Old Kingdom to the Roman era. The temples of the Graeco-Roman period include some of the best-preserved examples of religious architecture and texts from antiquity. King and temple—or in modern terms, state and church—should not be seen as in opposition,[8] since "both kingship and temple were brought to life, sustained and celebrated in the central high-cultural products of Egyptian civilization".[9]

Cosmological associations vouchsafed the integrity of the temple, which served as an image of the world.[10] Every single temple mirrored the cosmos and was a microcosm in itself, as well as the earthly residence of its main deity. The ancient Egyptians re-enacted creation by ceremonially founding and constructing a temple, and in the process re-establishing *maat* (universal order). As part of this cosmic meaning, the daily repetition of the solar cycle was represented in the temple. The inner sanctuary symbolizes the primeval mound of earth that emerged from Nun, the marshy waters at creation. The cosmic dimension of the temple is further reflected in the depiction of the ceiling as sky, the plant decoration on the base of the wall, and the columns of the pillared halls, which have the forms of aquatic plants. In the Graeco-Roman period they often have composite capitals, which bring together different vegetal elements and also form a point of contact with Hellenistic architecture.[11]

The ritual scenes show two categories of protagonists involved, one or several deities and the pharaoh in traditional Egyptian regalia, no matter whether it was a native or a foreign king. It was a requirement of temple decoration to show the pharaoh performing the rituals that would guarantee the existence of Egypt. The king presents diverse offerings, ranging from real objects, such as food, flowers, or amulets, to symbolic acts like smiting the enemies or presenting *maat*.[12] Further topics of the temple decoration included festivals, foundation, and protection of the temple and its gods, in accordance with the theological system of each temple.

8 As, for example, by Huß, *Der makedonische König*.

9 Baines, "Temples as Symbols", 216.

10 Hornung, *Idea into Image*, 115–129. For a detailed study, based on the temple of Horus at Edfu, see Finnestadt, *Image of the World*.

11 McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt*, 122–132.

12 Graefe, "Die Deutung der sogenannten 'Opfergaben' ".

With the temples, the cosmic cycle was extended into history.[13] The kings could be presented as the sons and successors of the creator gods, eternally re-enacting creation, thus fulfilling *maat* and protecting Egypt. Since the temple reflects the entire cosmos and functions according to the same principles, constructing temples was a way to demonstrate and to reaffirm the royal status. This was especially important for usurpers and foreign rulers, who were keen to be legitimized. Even if the rulers of the Twenty-eighth to the Thirtieth Dynasty were considered as native pharaohs,[14] they were usurpers, and needed to be legitimized in their role as pharaoh, as did Alexander and the Ptolemies.

The Egyptian temples of the Hellenistic period are the principal surviving monuments of the Ptolemies in the country, so it seems obvious that these rulers attached great importance to these enormous buildings. Yet, these foreign rulers probably knew little of their symbolism, and they could not read their inscriptions. The Egyptian elite must have stimulated the building and decoration policy, since their life focused around the temples, which were fundamental to native Egyptian culture.[15] It is therefore not surprising that, from the very beginning of their rule in Egypt, the Ptolemaic rulers supported the Egyptian sacred complexes and initiated a gigantic programme of temple construction and decoration, thus securing *maat* and the support of the native priesthood. This policy is already attested on the Satrap Stele, dating to 311, when Ptolemy son of Lagos was not yet ruling over Egypt as king, but only as governor for Alexander IV. Ptolemy confirms a donation of land to the gods of Buto and therefore obtains their support and that of their priests (see further section 4).[16]

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13 Assmann, "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit", 14.

14 According to Assmann, *Herrschaft und Heil*, 237, the Libyan (Twenty-second and Twenty-third) and Kushite (Twenty-fifth) Dynasties were not perceived as foreign rulers, only the Persian and Greek. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 141–142, considers Amyrtaios, the sole ruler of the Twenty-eighth Dynasty, of Libyan origin, but calls the rulers of the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Dynasties the last native pharaohs, except for ephemeral local kings. Even if some might regard the rulers of the Twenty-sixth and Twenty-eighth to Thirtieth Dynasties as foreigners (see, for example, Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Fremdherrschaften in Ägypten", 18), it is irrelevant to their roles as kings. For usurpers, foreign kings, and their choice of legitimizing royal names in the Late Period, see Kahl, "Zu den Namen spätzeitlicher Usurpatoren".

15 Baines, "Temples as Symbols", 216, 231. See also Minas-Nerpel, "Egyptian Temples of the Roman Period".

16 For the text of the Satrap Stele, see Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (= *Urk.* II), 11–22. For a photograph, see Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*.

3 Temple Construction in the Thirtieth Dynasty

3.1 *The Nile Delta*

Under the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, many temples were constructed at Sais and elsewhere in the Delta,[17] but not much survives. After the interruption of the first Persian rule and the short-reigning Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Dynasties, the kings of the Thirtieth Dynasty took up temple building where the Twenty-sixth Dynasty had left off and started some grand new projects, many of which were completed or extended by the early Ptolemaic rulers.

3.1.1 Sebennytos and Behbeit el-Hagar

Sebennytos, modern Samannud, is in the centre of the Delta and was the capital of the Twelfth nome of Lower Egypt (see Figure 5.1). As the home of the Thirtieth Dynasty kings, it was a powerful city, where much temple construction was undertaken; but the site is heavily ruined. A temple for Onuris might have existed there in the Saite period,[18] but the earliest surviving architectural remains of a large temple date to the reign of Nectanebo II. The majority of the dated reliefs bear the names of Philip Arrhidaios, Alexander IV, Ptolemy II, and Ptolemy X Alexander II.[19] Two naoi of Nectanebo II were dedicated to Onuris-Shu, which together with other remains points to a major temple of the Thirtieth Dynasty that was further extended in the Macedonian and Ptolemaic periods.

In antiquity, a legend developed around the completion of the temple of Onuris-Shu, Egyptian Per-Shu, in Greek Phersos. Onuris appeared in Nectanebo's dream, complaining to Isis that his temple had not yet been finished. When Nectanebo II woke up, he immediately sent for the high priest and arranged for the decoration to be completed. This narrative, of clear Egyptian origin, is only attested in a Greek translation,[20] except for a few small Demotic fragments,

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II, pl. LVI (CGC 22182). New translation, commentary, and analysis: Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*. See also Ockinga's contribution in this volume.

17 El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais*.

18 Spencer, "Temple of Onuris-Shu", 7.

19 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 127–128, 140–141, 158. Spencer, "Temple of Onuris-Shu", 7–8.

20 Attested on the Greek manuscript P.Leiden I 396, see Gauger, "Traum des Nektanebos", 189–219, esp. 196, col. III, 6–15: "Ich [Onuris] bin nun außerhalb meines eigenen Tempels und das Werk im Allerheiligsten ist nur halbvollendet wegen der Schlechtigkeit des Tempelvorstehers. Die Herrscherin der Götter hörte die Worte, antwortete aber nichts. Als

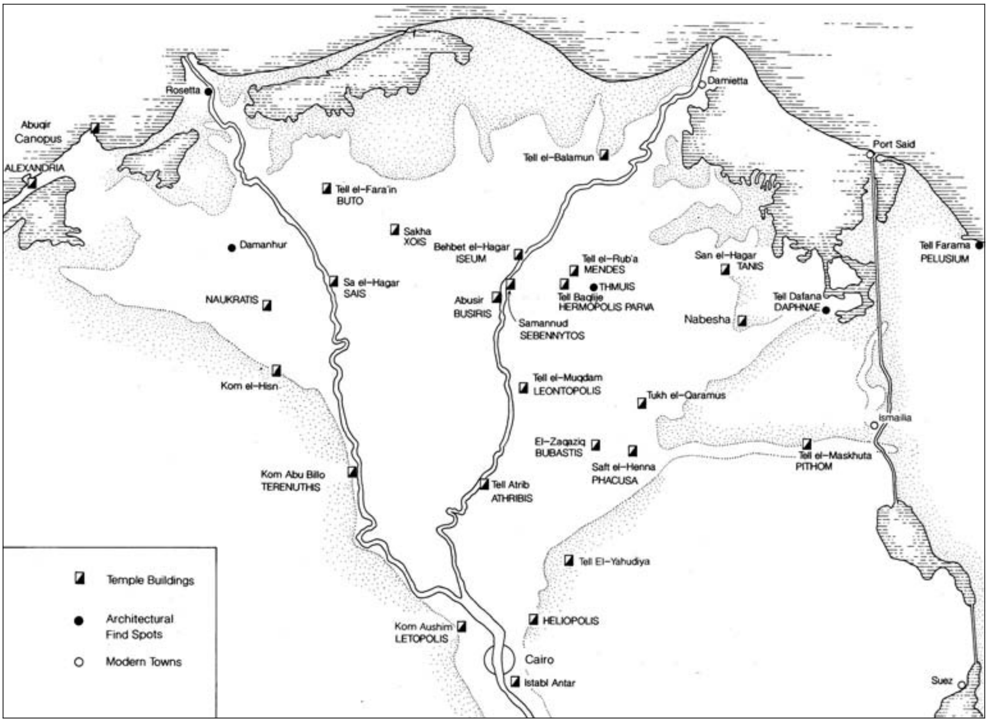

FIGURE 5.1 *Map of the Nile Delta*
AFTER ARNOLD, TEMPLES OF THE LAST PHARAOHS, FIG. XVI ON P. 20

which contain either some words of Nectanebo's dream or excerpts from the beginning of its sequel.[21]

Already in the time of Piye of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, Behbeit el-Hagar began to rival Sebennytos.[22] The once large, but now completely ruined, temple of Isis and the family of Osiris at Behbeit el-Hagar is located just to the north of the powerful city Sebennytos (Figures 5.1 and 5.2).

The history of the place is poorly known, but the first mention of Per-hebit is not earlier than the reign of Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[23] The Iseum, situated near the modern village, was uniquely constructed entirely of hard stone, but earthquakes heavily damaged the site, and agriculture as well

(Nektanebos) den Traum sah, erwachte er und befahl eilend zu schicken nach Sebennytos zum Hohenpriester und zum Propheten des Osnuris." See also Huß, *Der makedonische König*, 133–134 (with further references), and below section 4 with note 102.

21 Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream", 222, 225–228.

22 Bianchi, "Sebennytos", 766.

23 Favard-Meeks, "Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara", 102; and "Behbeit el-Hagar", 174.

FIGURE 5.2 *Ruins of the Iseum at Behbeit el-Hagar*
PHOTOGRAPH: AUTHOR

as a cemetery gradually encroached on the precinct. More than half of the archaeological area has now been lost.[24] Inside the *temenos* wall, which still survives on three sides, is a big mound of huge and small granite blocks, so entangled that a plan is difficult to propose and must remain hypothetical.[25] A *dromos* can be distinguished, with one sphinx surviving. It leads to a temple façade, followed by columned hall and the sanctuary of Isis, a goddess whose cult was much promoted in the Thirtieth Dynasty. Behind the sanctuary are chapels dedicated to cults of various aspects of Osiris. The presence of a huge staircase suggests that some of the Osirian chapels were located on the roof, a characteristic feature of late Egyptian temples.

Since a block of this temple was reused in a temple dedicated to Isis and Serapis in Rome, either at the time of its first foundation in 43 BCE or when renovated under Domitian (AD 81–96), the collapse of the temple at Behbeit

24 Favard-Meeks, "Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara", 102; and "Present State of the Site of Behbeit el-Hagar", 31.

25 For a plan with a hypothetical suggested layout, see Favard-Meeks, "Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara", 102; 105, fig. 2.

el-Hagar could not have taken place later than the first century AD.[26] It seems then to have been abandoned and used as a quarry.

The temple had been dedicated under Nectanebo II, but there is evidence that its construction was planned already under Nectanebo I.[27] On the surviving reliefs, the names of Nectanebo II and those of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy III Euergetes are well attested, but not of Ptolemy I Soter.[28] This covers a period of construction and decoration of roughly 140 years, from 360 to 221 BCE. According to textual information, it is fairly certain that the last kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty undertook earlier temple construction at this site.[29]

3.1.2 Bubastis

Another important location for the Thirtieth Dynasty is Bubastis, a city in the eastern Delta. The ruins of the ancient town Per-Bastet, now Tell Basta,[30] where the goddess Bastet was venerated as described by Herodotus (II 138), are increasingly threatened by the modern city of Zagazig. Although monuments from all ancient Egyptian periods are attested,[31] Bubastis probably gained its greatest importance in the Twenty-second Dynasty, the Libyan period, when it was the royal residence. The vast ruins of Tell Basta encompass today around seventy hectares, dominated by the main temple, roughly 220 × 70 m, littered

26 Favard-Meeks, "Present State of the Site of Behbeit el-Hagar", 33.

27 Favard-Meeks, "Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara", 103. For the constructions under Nectanebo II, see Favard-Meeks, "Les constructions de Nectanébo II à Behbeit el-Hagara".

28 The name of Ptolemy I might have been attested somewhere else in the now destroyed buildings. Swinnen, "Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée Ier", 118, connected cautiously a naos found at Mit Ghamr (see Habachi, "Notes on the Delta Hermopolis", 458–461), inscribed with Soter's cartouches, with Behbeit el-Hagar, although the findspot is rather closer to Tell el-Moqdam (11 km distance), ancient Leontopolis (Gomaà, "Tell el-Moqdam", 351); see fig. 5.1 for a map of the Delta. The naos is dedicated to Isis and Osiris, who are both mistress and master of a place called Djehuty, which might be connected to Behbeit el-Hagar (see Zivie, "A propos du toponyme *ḏbt*", 206–207). Mit Ghamr is also not far from Hermopolis Parva, which was the capital of the Fifteenth Lower Egyptian nome, where only a mound of huge red and black granite blocks remains of the main temple of Thoth, which in the Thirtieth Dynasty probably extended or replaced the Twenty-sixth Dynasty temple (Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 108).

29 Favard-Meeks, "Temple of Behbeit el-Hagara", 103; and "Behbeit el-Hagar", 174.

30 Leclère, *Villes de basse Égypte*, vol. 1, 363–391.

31 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 39; Rosenow, "Great Temple of Bastet", 11. Leclère, *Villes de basse Égypte*, vol. 1, 117.

FIGURE 5.3 *Ruins of the temple at Bubastis*
PHOTOGRAPH: DANIELA ROSENOW

with more than 4000 stone fragments, mainly of red granite.[32] As at Behbeit el-Hagar, the visitor to the temple today sees only a large area of blocks and broken monuments, due to an earthquake probably around 2000 years ago (Figure 5.3).

The late temple was begun in the Twenty-second Dynasty under Osorkon I and extended significantly under Osorkon II,[33] with further work being undertaken by Nectanebo II. In his reign, a separate hall of roughly 60 × 60 m was constructed in the westernmost area, where a number of shrines were situated.[34] Fragments of at least eight huge naoi for secondary deities were arranged around the red granite naos of Bastet.

32 Tietze, "Neues Exemplar des Kanopus-Dekrets", 3. Since 1991, archaeological and epigraphic fieldwork has been undertaken by the Tell Basta Project, which is a joint mission of the University of Potsdam/Germany, the Egyptian Supreme Council, and the Egypt Exploration Society.

33 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 40; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 129.

34 Rosenow, *Das Tempelhaus des Großen Bastet-Tempels*; Rosenow, "Great Temple of Bastet", 12; "Nekhethorheb Temple", 43. See plan in Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 91, figs. 22–23. At present, it is not known exactly how the Thirtieth Dynasty building related to, or

In 2004, an exciting discovery was made: a fragment of a stele, comprising a duplicate of the Canopus decree dating to year 9 of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (238), was found *in situ* in the entrance area of the Bubastis temple, which dates to the reign of Osorkon II.[35] It was located around 2 m north of the main axis of the temple, not far from statues of Osorkon II and his queen. The fragment of black granite is around 1 m high, 84 cm wide, and 65 cm thick. The fact that this decree was discovered here indicates that in the third century BCE the temple of Bastet still belonged to the sanctuaries of the first three categories mentioned in the last line of each version of the text.[36] So far, no other trace of Ptolemaic activity has been found at Bubastis. Furthermore, this is the first time that the exact original location within a temple of one of the synodal decrees has been established.

3.1.3 Saft el-Henna

Not far from Bubastis, roughly 10 km east of Zagazig, Saft el-Henna is located, ancient Per-Sopdu, where Nectanebo I had begun a temple of which only traces survive. The presence of a stele of Ptolemy II suggests that the site was still important in the Ptolemaic Period.[37] The temple was dedicated to the falcon-god Sopdu, the guardian of Egypt's eastern borders. Again, several monolithic naoi are known to come from this location, all dating to Nectanebo I.[38]

A naos is the ritual heart of a temple, a shrine in the most sacred location, in which the image of the principal deity was placed—or those of further gods also venerated there. Because it is monolithic hard stone, it formed the most powerful level of protection[39] of the (wooden) statue within. This might be

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was incorporated into, the Twenty-second Dynasty structures. The remains could be seen as replacing or extending an existing building or as a completely new temple (Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 39–42; Rosenow, "Nektanebos-Tempel", "Sanctuaire de Nectanebo II", and "Nekhethorheb Temple").

35 See Tietze et al., "Ein neues Exemplar des Kanopus-Dekrets", 1–29, for an archaeological report on the find and the edition of the texts.

36 Pfeiffer, *Dekret von Kanopos*, 65, 194–197.

37 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 130.

38 Gomaà, "Saft el-Henna", 351–352; Virenque, "Les quatre Naos de Saft el-Henneh", 19–28. First: the so-called naos of Sopdu (CGC 70021); second: the naos found in el-Arish, but originally from Saft el-Henna, now in the Ismailia Museum (no. 2248); third: fragments of a naos of Shu found in several places in the Delta, including site T at Abuqir by Goddio and his team, now in the Louvre D 37 and in Alexandria JE 25774 (see Leitz, *Altägyptische Sternuhren*, 3–57; Goddio and Clauss, *Egypt's Sunken Treasures*, no. 31–34, pp. 46–53. See the edition in von Bomhard, *Naos of the Decades*); and fourth: a naos of Tefnut.

39 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 50. Virenque, "Les quatre Naos de Saft el-Henneh", 27, calls these naoi from Saft el-Henna "fortresses miniature".

especially true in Saft el-Henna, which was in the first line of any possible Asian invasion and thus strategically vital. The Delta in particular needed to be reinforced against Persian attacks, and this might also be a reason why the eastern Delta received so much attention under the Thirtieth Dynasty, if the view of strategic support is correct. One might also view the monolithic naoi as pieces of extravagant expenditure on the gods rather than "strategic" buildings, which were specifically safeguarded because of worries about security.

Naoi not only displayed the theology of a specific temple: their inscriptions also legitimized the Thirtieth Dynasty rulers, connecting them to the gods.[40] This legitimation was of utmost importance in a period when Egypt was so often threatened by Persian invasions. In addition, Nectanebo I had usurped the throne of Egypt and needed to prove his legitimacy, which is one probable reason behind his vast building programme.[41] A political meaning can thus be attributed to the religious texts on the naoi. The shrines of Saft el-Henna are cultic instruments intended to protect the kings magically and to legitimize their rule against obstacles whether political or metaphysical. This profusion of monolithic naoi is not attested from earlier periods and seems to be specific to the Thirtieth Dynasty.[42]

3.1.4 Naukratis and Thonis-Herakleion

The emporium of Naukratis, situated on the east bank of the now vanished Canopic branch of the Nile, some 80 km south-east of Alexandria and around 15 km from Sais, was established in the late seventh century BCE, and was in existence until at least the seventh century AD.[43] It functioned as the port of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty royal city of Sais and remained a busy centre of industry

40 Schneider, "Mythos und Zeitgeschichte", 207–242: in the case of the el-Arish naos, the king was connected to Shu and Geb.

41 See Schneider, "Mythos und Zeitgeschichte", 207–242 (esp. 242), and Rondot, "Une monographie bubastite", 249–270 (esp. 270), who have put this in context in their examinations of naoi from Saft el-Henna and Bubastis.

42 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 64–65, appendix 4, provides a list of Thirtieth Dynasty temple naoi, altogether thirty-six, of which two thirds (twenty-four) come from the Delta, one third (twelve) from Bubastis alone. Klotz, "Naos of Nectanebo I" adds another one of Nectanebo I from Sohag, Gabra, "Ein vergessener Naos Nektanebos I", yet a further one, now housed in Old Cairo in the entry area of the Coptic Museum. See Thiers, "Naos de Ptolémée II Philadelphe", 259–265, for a list of monolithic royal naoi from Pepi I to the Roman period.

43 Ancient Naukratis has been a focus of interdisciplinary research at the British Museum for several years, see Thomas and Villing, "Naukratis revisited 2012", 81–125. While Naukratis was chosen as a trade centre for the Greeks in Egypt, an Egyptian town must have already

and a thriving emporium as well as a locus of cross-cultural exchange for much of its history.[44] In the Thirtieth Dynasty, it was the chief Greek town in Egypt and a flourishing trading post.

Naukratis contained several temples of Greek gods, as well as a monumental Egyptian temple, but hardly anything can be seen there today.[45] The Naukratis Stele of Nectanebo I, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was found 1899 in the temple precinct. It is a round-topped, finely carved stele of black granite, almost 2 m high and 88 cm wide.[46] In the lunette, under the winged sun disk, Nectanebo I is shown presenting offerings to the enthroned goddess Neith in two almost symmetrical scenes.[47] Below is the inscription in fourteen columns, dated to the king's year 1 (380 BCE).[48] The stele's main pragmatic content is that the king's decree granted the temple one-tenth of the revenue derived from the seaborne imports that were subjected to custom tax, plus one-tenth of the revenue obtained from the tax on locally manufactured goods.[49] By dedicating the stele with the decree inscribed, the perpetual donation is consecrated and the king's devotion to the goddess displayed.

In 2000, Franck Goddio's underwater mission succeeded in identifying the site of Thonis-Herakleion in the Bay of Abukir: not only the city itself, but also the harbour and the main Egyptian temple of Amun-Gereb. In May 2001, Goddio's team discovered at Thonis-Herakleion a stele of Nectanebo I, a perfect duplicate of the Naukratis Stele.[50] Not only the material and dimensions, but also the images and the texts are identical, except for one difference: the name of the city, where the stelae—and hence the decree of Sais—should be placed, was changed, providing the full original designation of Thonis-Herakleion.[51] The composition and excellent craftsmanship of the stelae demonstrate that

existed there, see Leclère, *Villes de basse Égypte*, vol. 1, 117; Yoyotte, "L'Amon de Naukratis", 129–136; Yoyotte, *Histoire, géographie et religion de l'Égypte ancienne*, esp. chapters 45–47.

44 Pfeiffer, "Naukratis, Heracleion-Thonis and Alexandria". For the economic background, see Möller, *Naukratis*.

45 Spencer, "Egyptian Temple and Settlement at Naukratis", 31–43.

46 For the dimension and the summary of the find circumstances, see von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 5–7, 15.

47 See von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 16–21 (figs. 2.2–2.9), 29–47, for an analysis of the iconography and its symbolism.

48 For the translations, see the new edition by von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*. See also Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, 86–89.

49 Col. 8–12, see von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 72–84.

50 For a comparative study of both stelae and an analysis of both the inscriptions and the iconography, see von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*.

51 Col. 13–14, see von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 86–88; Yoyotte, "Le second affichage", 320.

they were produced by one of the best workshops of the period. The sophisticated language and the allusions to the mythical role and importance of Neith suggest that a priest of her temple at Sais probably drafted the text. The temple depended on income from Naukratis and Thonis and their trade, since they were Egypt's main trading posts on the Mediterranean at that time. Nectanebo I promulgated the decree in his first year of reign, specifying his decision to increase the share of royal revenues which was allocated to the temple of Neith at Sais. After the foundation of Alexandria and the subsequent development of its port, which transformed the Mediterranean metropolis into the greatest emporium of the ancient world, Thonis-Herakleion declined, but the trade and business of the Greeks of Naukratis continued to increase under the Ptolemies.[52]

The discovery of the Thonis and the Naukratis Stelae is quite extraordinary: two identical versions of the same decree, connecting two cities, preserved intact on both sites, both copies found *in situ* where they had been set up in the Thirtieth Dynasty. They provide important insights, not only into the temples and their economic significance, but also into the communication between the pharaoh and the temple, the state and its subjects, the divine and the human world. The audience was not the Greek-speaking population of the sites at Naukratis and Thonis. Thus, it was not necessary to create bilingual decrees, at least for this purpose. Both stelae were set up to render the royal decree sacred and to immortalize Nectanebo's recognition by "his mother", the goddess Neith, so that she would protect his kingship. The king repays her by caring for her temples and cults. The Sais decree captures the building work of Nectanebo I and the gift in return by the gods of Egypt skilfully:[53]

> Just-hearted on the path of god, he [Nectanebo I] is the one who builds their[54] temples, the one who perfects their wall, who supplies the offering tablet, who multiplies the requirements of the rites, who procures oblation of all kind. Unique god of multiple qualities, it is for him that work

52 Von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 114 (with further references).

53 Decree of Sais, col. 5–6; translation by von Bomhard, *Decree of Saïs*, 66–68.

54 The singular "god" (*wꜣ.t nṯr* "path of god") is followed by a plural resumptive pronoun (*ḥw.wt=sn* "their temples"). The alteration of singular and plural is a very interesting point and should be noted in discussions whether there was a single god. See, for example, Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 168–207, especially his chapter "Conceiving the One in Ancient Egyptian Tradition", and Baines, "Presenting and Discussing Deities" (with further references).

the rays of the disk, it is to him that the mountains offer what they contain, that the sea gives its flow …

3.2 *Heliopolis*

The ancient site of Heliopolis, city of the sun-god and one of the most important religious and intellectual centres of ancient Egypt, is located at the northeastern edge of Cairo. Occupied since predynastic times with extensive building programmes during the dynastic periods, especially the Middle and New Kingdoms, it is almost completely destroyed today. Its landscape and architectural layout is often based on decontextualized objects, since the *temenos* was robbed of its monuments in the later periods of ancient Egyptian history in order to embellish other places, such as Alexandria; other buildings were subsequently reused for the construction of medieval Cairo. The growing modern suburbs of Matariya, Ain Shams, and Arab el-Hisn with their house constructions and modern garbage dumps threaten most of the remaining structures of ancient Heliopolis. A circular structure in the eastern section of the *temenos*, about 400 m in diameter, is the most remarkable remain within the temple area. The function, date, and architectural context of the so-called "High Sand of Heliopolis" is unclear and under investigation of an Egyptian-German archaeological mission.[55]

The temple area of Heliopolis was enclosed by two parallel courses of mud brick walls of different dates, measuring about 1100 m east to west and 900 m north to south. According to Dietrich Raue, the outer wall dates to the Thirtieth Dynasty. The original height of no less than 20 m is estimated on the basis of contemporary constructions at Karnak and Elkab (see below 3.3 and 3.4).[56] In spring 2015, the Egyptian-German mission discovered several basalt blocks depicting a geographic procession, which once belonged to the soubassement decoration of a hitherto unknown temple of Nectanebo I.[57] Considering the

55 See Ashmawy and Raue, "The Temple of Heliopolis: Excavations 2012–14", 8–11; and "Report on the Work of the Egyptian-German Mission at Matariya/ Heliopolis in Spring 2012"; Ashmawy, Beiersdorf, and Raue, "The Thirtieth Dynasty in the Temple of Heliopolis", 13–16. For Heliopolis in general see also Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*.

56 Ashmawy et al., "Report on the Work of the Egyptian-German Mission at Matariya/ Heliopolis in Spring 2014", 19–21 (with figs. 13–15): section 4: "The Enclosure Walls of Heliopolis". I am very grateful to D. Raue for sharing his information on Heliopolis with me in May 2015.

57 Ashmawy, Beiersdorf, and Raue, "Report on the Work of the Egyptian-German Mission at Matariya/ Heliopolis in Spring 2015", 5–6 (with fig. 5).

importance of Heliopolis as a cult centre, it does not surprise that the first king of the Thirtieth Dynasty devoted considerable architectural work to this site.

3.3 *The Theban Area*

In the Theban area, large numbers of attestations of the Thirtieth Dynasty survive,[58] so that I can only mention a few sites. The Bucheum, for example, was created under Nectanebo II, attesting to support of the animal cults which became increasingly popular from the Late Period onwards (see also Tuna el-Gebel, section 4). From the reign of the last native pharaoh until AD 340, for close to 700 years, the Buchis bulls, a manifestation of Montu, were buried at Armant.[59]

A major undertaking under Nectanebo I was to link the two temple complexes of Luxor and Karnak with a sacred avenue.[60] It was—besides the unfinished first pylon of Karnak, which is very likely to be a Thirtieth Dynasty structure[61]—the largest project in Thebes by a Thirtieth Dynasty king and has been almost fully excavated in recent years. The paved middle part of the road is 5–6 m wide and 2 km long. Both sides are lined by sphinxes, facing the middle of the road (fig. 5.5).

Many sphinx statues from the reign of Nectanebo I have been unearthed, so far numbering far more than a thousand. In addition, the processional way was bordered on the east and west by brick walls, of which almost nothing is left. On the base of one of the sphinxes in the western row, the processional avenue is described: "He [Nectanebo I] built a beautiful road for his father Amun, bordered by walls, planted with trees and decorated with flowers."[62]

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58 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 115–119; 131–133.

59 Mond and Myers, *Bucheum*; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*. For the Buchis Stele from year 9 of Nectanebo II, see Mond and Myers, *Bucheum* III, pl. xxxvii.1. For the animal cults under Alexander the Great, also that of Buchis, see Bosch-Puche, "Alejandro Magno y los cultos a animales". For the latest attested Buchis stele, see Mond and Myers, *Bucheum* III, pl. xlvi.20 (Stele of an unknown emperor); for the date of the stele, see Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich* II, 44–45 and fig. 35: the bull died in year "57 of Diocletian" (340 CE, under Constantius II; Diocletian died in 313). For further details of the latest attested Buchis stele, see Grenier, "Remarques sur les datations et titulatures", 273–276.

60 Abd el-Razik, *Darstellungen und Texte*; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles*, 35–37, 145–149, 283–296.

61 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 49.

62 Translation by Abd el-Razik, *Darstellungen und Texte*, 157. On a further sphinx, Abd el-Razik, *Darstellungen und Texte*, 157, read: "… a road which he built for his father Amun to celebrate the beautiful feast of procession in *Ip.t-Rs.t* (Luxor). No road more beautiful has ever existed before."

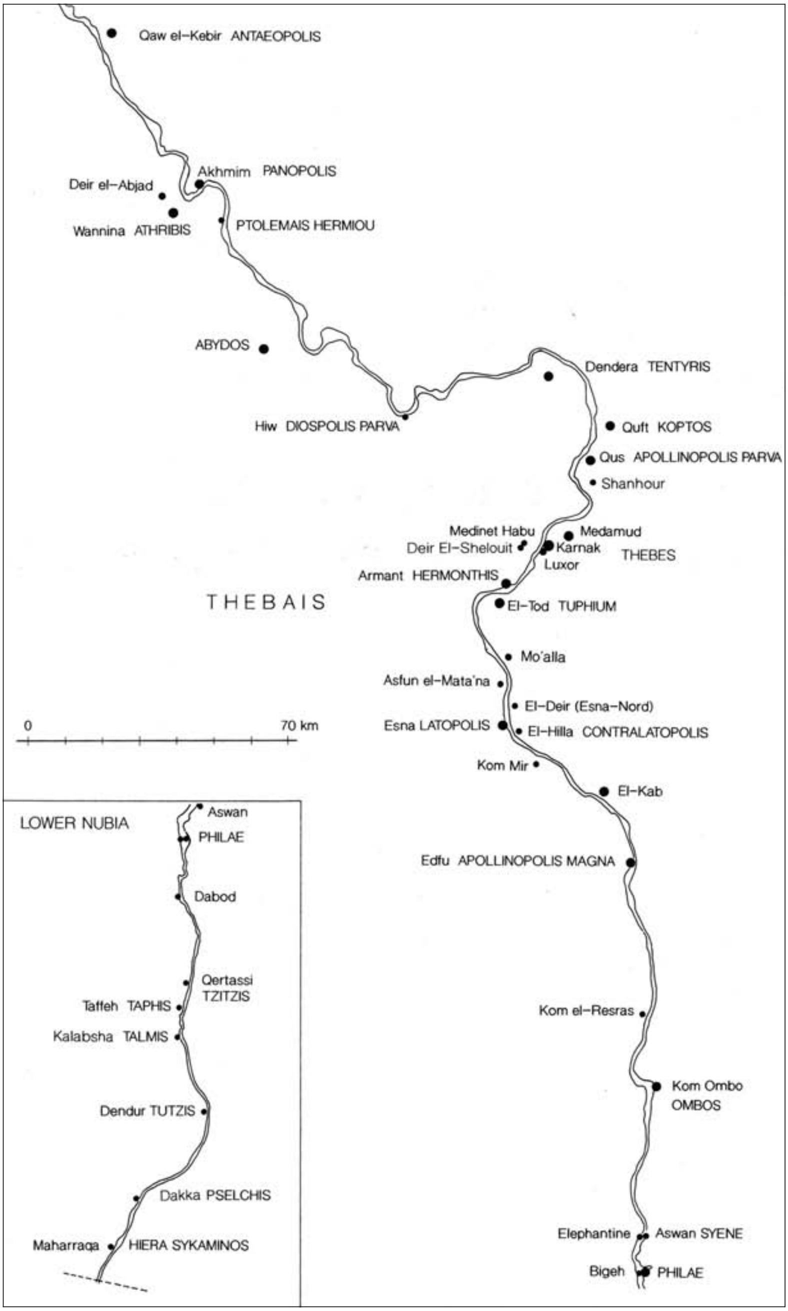

FIGURE 5.4 *Map of upper Egypt*
AFTER ARNOLD, TEMPLES OF THE LAST PHARAOHS, FIG. XVIII ON P. 22

FIGURE 5.5 *Sphinx avenue linking the temples of Luxor and Karnak*
PHOTOGRAPH: TROY L. SAGRILLO

Other sacred avenues in the Theban area and in Egypt were embellished or renovated during the Thirtieth Dynasty.[63] The avenue between Luxor and Thebes in particular provides an important glimpse of the interaction between sacred spaces and urban development. The brick walls physically separated sacred and profane areas. This separation was also emphasized by the huge, new brick enclosure wall around the complex of Amun at Karnak.[64]

3.4 *Elkab*

As is evident in Heliopolis and Karnak, another typical project of the Thirtieth Dynasty was to construct new enclosure walls that created significantly larger sacred areas. Spencer has identified these as the "most lasting legacy of the 30th Dynasty construction work".[65] A good example is the enclosure wall at Elkab (fig. 5.6), the present-day name of the ancient Egyptian town of the vulture goddess Nekhbet, on the east bank of the Nile about 15 km north of Edfu, which had been inhabited since prehistory. Together with Wadjit of Lower Egypt, Nekhbet

63 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 49.

64 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 115; Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 49.

65 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 49.

FIGURE 5.6 *Elkab, enclosure wall*
PHOTOGRAPH: AUTHOR

was the tutelary goddess of Egyptian kings and regarded as the Upper Egyptian goddess *par excellence*.

Elkab has a vast, almost square enclosure wall of 550 × 550 m. By surrounding the area with a massive brick wall, a significantly larger sacred space was created. The purpose of this enclosure cannot yet be identified clearly. It could have been a temple or even a town wall, since the temple complex within it was itself provided with two further brick enclosure walls.[66] According to Spencer, the majority of temple enclosures should be interpreted as sacred structures, with no practical defence purpose intended at the time of construction. They should be seen as monumental reaffirmations of sacred space, extended beyond anything encountered before.[67] This is yet another innovation of the Thirtieth Dynasty, later followed in the planning of Graeco-Roman

66 Depuydt, *Archaeological-topographical Surveying of Elkab*, map "Elkab". See also Rondot, "Une monographie bubastite", 270.

67 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 50. De Meulenaere, "Un général du Delta", 209, suggested that the great enclosure wall was a defence structure ordered by Nectanebo II against further Persian invasions, which seems quite unlikely.

temples. Numerous bark stations and small temples in the vicinity of the huge enclosure wall suggest intense processional activities, similar to those between Luxor and Karnak, as well as other places in the Theban area.[68]

Within the enclosure wall, adjacent to a New Kingdom temple to Sobek, a temple for Nekhbet had been built during the reigns of Darius I of the first Persian Period and Hakoris of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, reusing blocks from structures of the New Kingdom and later.[69] Nectanebo I and II restored and embellished the temple. During the Thirtieth Dynasty, a birth house was also added, focusing on Nekhbet's character as a goddess who assisted at divine and royal births.[70] Since Elkab was the sanctuary of the Upper Egyptian crown, this action exemplifies the desire to establish the legitimacy of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Birth houses (also known as mammisis) like that at Elkab were added to late Egyptian temples as subsidiary buildings, dedicated to the divine child of a local triad.[71] They were often erected in front of and facing the main temple, and scenes that relate to the birth and nurturing of the child god dominate their decoration. Since the divine child was identified with the king in a number of aspects, birth houses were probably also places devoted to the cult of the living ruler. The oldest surviving, securely identified birth house was built under Nectanebo I at Dendera.[72] According to Arnold, there are slightly earlier examples dating to the Twenty-ninth Dynasty,[73] for example the birth house of Harpara at the east side of the Amun-Ra-Montu temple at Karnak, which was begun in the reign of Nepherites I and enlarged under Hakoris and Nectanebo I. This finding supports Spencer's opinion that much of the cultural renaissance that is attested for the Thirtieth Dynasty may continue trends of the previous dynasty.[74]

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68 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 134.

69 Limme, "Elkab", 468.

70 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 119, 133, pl. XII on p. 16; Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 48.

71 For an overview of the birth houses, see Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 285–288; Kockelmann, "Birth house (Mammisi)".

72 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 115, 285.

73 Daumas, *Les mammisis*, 54; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 101–103, 288. There may also have been simple forerunners of this temple type dating to the Ramesside period, but they are lost (Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 286). Birth houses are attested in texts of the end of the New Kingdom from Abydos and Thebes (de Meulenaere, "Isis et Mout du Mammisi").

74 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 47.

It seems thus that the last native dynasties put emphasis on the legitimation derived from birth houses, and this was further pursued under the Ptolemies. Under Nectanebo I, these edifices were rather straightforward in design, more like a shrine with a forecourt and an access path. Under the Ptolemies, this temple type was enlarged and its architectural features further developed, so that the birth houses turned into proper temples, suitable for a daily cult ritual,[75] gaining even more importance.

3.5 *Elephantine*

The island of Elephantine is situated in the Nile opposite the city of Aswan, ancient Syene, just north of the first cataract. At the south-east corner of the island, a very large new temple for the ram god Khnum, enclosed by a temple wall, was built under Nectanebo II, replacing a predecessor of the New Kingdom with Twenty-sixth Dynasty additions.[76] Although the temple is ruined and its remains might appear rather modest today, much information about it has been extracted through careful excavation and recording. In 1960, Ricke published a first study, and in 1999 Niederberger produced a more detailed archaeological and architectural presentation.[77]

The situation on Elephantine island is quite unique. Under the last native pharaoh, the temple area was expanded to the north-west beyond the New Kingdom Khnum temple, where the temple of Yahweh, in 410 destroyed under Darius II, had been located.[78] Because the temple was considerably larger than its predecessor, housing areas inhabited by ethnic Aramaeans at the rear of the temple were levelled.[79] As Spencer points out in his review of Niederberger's study, it is rare that a stone temple reveals the plan and elements of wall decoration and architecture, with a clear visible relationship to the adjacent urban environment.[80] This is particularly true of the Late Period, since

75 Daumas, *Les mammisis*, 86, 96.

76 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 134.

77 Ricke, *Tempel Nektanebos' II*, also included a short discussion of the Thirtieth Dynasty changes at the temple of Satet on Elephantine. Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 113–137, sets this structure in the wider context of temple buildings at the Late and Graeco-Roman periods. Jenni, *Dekoration des Chnumtempels*, 87–100, publishes the decoration of the Khnum temple, including a list of all architectural monuments dating to the reign of Nectanebo II. See Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 47–52, for a discussion of temple building in Egypt in the Thirtieth Dynasty.

78 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 13.

79 Spencer, Review of Niederberger, 274; 2006a, 48. See Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 108, Abb. 108, for the foundation of the temple.

80 Spencer, Review of Niederberger, 273.

significant temples of the time are often overlaid by structures of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Elephantine is one of very few sites where temple and contemporary settlement have been excavated with modern expertise. In addition, the temple of Khnum is the only Thirtieth Dynasty temple whose ground plan can be more or less established from preserved foundations. It is also the only temple of this period for which an internal plan of rooms can be reconstructed.

Fragments of three Thirtieth Dynasty naoi were recovered within the temple.[81] Like so many temples of the last native dynasty, the temple of Khnum was not finished before the second Persian period. The grand main portal, still standing today, was therefore decorated under Alexander IV, Alexander the Great's son (see section 4), and the temple was further extended under Ptolemaic and Roman rule, exemplifying the importance of the region in these periods; Syene was probably the important place and Elephantine the sacred area.[82] According to Niederberger, the Iseum at Behbeit el-Hagar in the Delta (section 3.1.1 above) had a similar ground plan. Because of the similarities of the two temples, which are located at the opposite ends of Egypt, he postulates the same master plan for both temples.[83] However, Elephantine was a provincial location; so was Behbeit el-Hagar, but still near Sais. We can assume that the master plans, if they existed, were devised in the cultural centre, which was in the north. The most creative regions must have been in the Delta, and huge temple complexes like Behbeit el-Hagar demonstrate this. In addition, we do not have enough evidence to be sure of what a typical Thirtieth Dynasty temple looked like. We only have Behbeit el-Hagar and Elephantine, but the plan for the Delta temple is very hypothetical.[84] Therefore, caution is required in positing a typical temple plan of the Thirtieth Dynasty, since there are not sufficient surviving examples.

From the layout of the Khnum temple, we can extract two specific architectural features for the Thirtieth Dynasty. First, an ambulatory was introduced around the sanctuary, a feature that continued in the temples of the Graeco-Roman period. Second, the open-air room associated with Re was transformed to a small solar or New Year's court, from which the *wabet* chapel or "pure hall", an elevated room, is reached by steps. Here, the cult image of the main deity

81 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 86–91.

82 Minas, "Die Dekorationstätigkeit", Teil 2, 100–102; Coppens, *Wabet*, 19; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 134. Under Augustus, further extensions were added, including a monumental platform (Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich* II, 29–33).

83 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 118.

84 Spencer, Review of Niederberger, 276–277. See also Yoyotte, *Histoire, géographie et religion de l'Égypte ancienne*, esp. chapters 34 and 46.

of the temple was set down and clothed. In the court, some of the New Year's offering took place before the priests carried the cult image up to the roof via the staircases. Predecessors of the *wabet* and the New Year's court are found in the solar courts of New Kingdom cult temples. The *wabet* as reconstructed for the Khnum temple represents the earliest known example that had an adjoining court.[85]

The main cult axis developed already in the later New Kingdom, but it is characteristic of the temples from the Thirtieth Dynasty onwards.[86] The last native ruler thus not only continued traditions, but also developed something new, a standardized conception of temple building, on which those of the Graeco-Roman period were based.[87]

In this context, composite capitals should be mentioned, since these too are distinctive features of temples constructed or extended from the Thirtieth Dynasty until the Roman period.[88] Traditionally, the capitals of columns in any one row were uniform, but, from the Thirtieth Dynasty onwards, different capital types were combined according to rules of axial correspondence.[89] In 2009, Fauerbach devoted a study to the creation of composite capitals in the Ptolemaic period: floral capitals were not based on grids, but on complex drawings that were divided to show both plan and elevation. She describes the five steps for creating such capitals,[90] and she is able to prove from drawings on the pylon of Edfu temple that the Egyptians of the second century BCE were familiar with the use of scale drawings.

3.6 *Philae*

Philae, an island in the Nile at the south end of the first Nile cataract, was sacred to Isis. In the 1970s, the architectural structures of the original island were moved to their present location on the island of Agilkia when Philae was becoming permanently flooded by the construction of the Aswan High Dam.[91]

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85 According to Coppens, *Wabet*, 221, the complex of *wabet* and court is situated at the end of a development that started at least a millennium earlier. The New Kingdom solar courts seem to be the simpler forerunners of this structure.

86 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 113–114, 121.

87 Assmann, "Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit", 10–11 (and *Moses the Egyptian*, 179), states that the late Egyptian temples follow in fact a "einheitlichen Baugedanken, d.h. einem kanonischen Plan" much more closely than the temples of the earlier periods.

88 Phillips, *Columns of Egypt*, 161.

89 For example, Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 149; McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt*, 122–132.

90 Fauerbach, "Creation of an Egyptian Capital", 111.

91 Winter, "Philae", 1022–1028. Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte*, 121–158, provides a summary of the topography and history of Philae and a useful bibliography.

The temple of Isis and its associated structures are the dominant monuments on the island. Philae's history before the Thirtieth Dynasty is hardly known;[92] the extant structures are mainly Graeco-Roman and belong to the policy of promoting Isis.[93]

Under Nectanebo I, a project was developed to enlarge the sanctuary of Isis at Philae, whose cult seemed to have gained importance in all of Egypt, as is also shown by the Iseum of Behbeit el-Hagar in the Delta (see above section 3.1.1). A gate had been erected, which is now placed in the first pylon of the temple of Isis, initiated under Ptolemy II Philadelphos and replacing an earlier temple.[94] Originally, the gateway was set in a brick enclosure wall; it is not connected with the pylon's two towers, which were probably built under Ptolemy VI Philometor.[95] The precise extent of the sacred enclosure under Nectanebo I remains unknown, since later buildings obliterated all earlier traces. In contrast to the temple of Isis at Behbeit el-Hagar, where the existing temple of the Thirtieth Dynasty was expanded and decorated under Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III, the temple of Isis at Philae built under Ptolemy II was a new and integrally planned architectural unit.

The main building of the Thirtieth Dynasty at Philae is a 7.6×11.5 m kiosk, now located at the south end of the island, which originally stood at a different place. It stands on a platform and consists of a rectangle of four by six columns. Their capitals display a combination of Hathor and composite floral capitals (fig. 5.7).

The kiosk seems to have been moved in the mid-second century BCE and turned 180 degrees, as has been established from details of its decoration.[96] Shape and location seem to suggest that the building served in its new posi-

92 Blocks of Taharqa of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty have been found, but a kiosk built under Psammetik II of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is the oldest building that certainly belongs to Philae (Haeny, "Architectural History of Philae", 201–202).

93 For the hymns to Isis in her temple at Philae, see Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis*. See also Fissolo, "Isis de Philae". Arsinoe II shared as a *synnaos thea* the temple with Isis and participated in her veneration. As a living and deceased queen, Arsinoe II provided a vital image for the Ptolemaic dynasty, offering legitimacy for herself, her brother-husband Ptolemy II, and their successors through iconographic and textual media. She was given epithets that were used not only for later Ptolemaic queens, but also for Isis. Arsinoe's connection with Isis might well have contributed to the decision to enlarge the temple at Philae considerably under Ptolemy II. For an analysis see Minas-Nerpel, "Ptolemaic Queens as Ritualists and Recipients of Cults: The Cases of Arsinoe II and Berenike II" (esp. section 2).

94 Winter, "Philae", 1022 (J); Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*, 25–27.

95 Minas, "Die Dekorationstätigkeit", Teil 2, 102–103.

96 Winter, "Philae", 1022 (A); Haeny, "Architectural History of Philae", 204–206, 224.

FIGURE 5.7 *Philae, kiosk of Nectanebo I*
PHOTOGRAPH: AUTHOR

tion as a way station, but, according to Arnold, it previously could have been the ambulatory of a birth house.[97] This interpretation seems unlikely, though, since such a structure would have been very small.

Niederberger connects the construction programmes of Elephantine and Philae and concludes that both the Nectanebos had to concentrate on one of the two sites at the expense of the other, for kings like them, residing in the Delta would not have had the means to conduct two large projects.[98] This is, in his eyes, the reason why the Khnum temple could not have been planned under Nectanebo I. Indeed, his cartouches are not preserved, but this idea is rather perplexing, as Spencer also points out, since evidence from elsewhere in Egypt suggests that temples were built at sites near to one another under the Thirtieth Dynasty.[99]

97 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 119.
98 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 14.
99 Spencer, Review of Niederberger, 276. In addition, Nectanebo I erected a gate on Elephantine that was an extension to the New Kingdom structure (Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 119).

4 Temple Construction and Decoration from Alexander to Ptolemy I Soter

No traces of temple building during the second Persian period are currently known, and this is not surprising, since in times of such turmoil no temple wall was decorated. This situation changed under Alexander the Great, who realized the importance of maintaining the integration of "church and state". With his alleged coronation as pharaoh at Memphis[100] and subsequent consultation of the oracle in Siwa Oasis in the Western Desert, where he was declared the son of Zeus-Ammon, Alexander demonstrated that he was willing to act as pharaoh and be legitimized by Egyptian gods—useful for someone who was about to conquer the world. A legitimate pharaoh had to care for Egypt by fighting against its enemies and by providing temples and cults for the gods, and he fulfilled these tasks, which benefited those whose service he required, that is, the Egyptian elite.

In addition, a legendary link to Nectanebo II was established: in the *Alexander Romance*, a popular novel of the Hellenistic world, Alexander the Great is connected with his "real" father, the last native pharaoh of Egypt. Nectanebo II is described as a powerful magician who caused Olympias, Alexander's mother, to believe that she had been impregnated by the Egyptian god Amun.[101] A further narrative, "Nectanebo's Dream", was most probably also translated into Greek from an Egyptian original. This prophecy, concerning the demise of Egypt's last native pharaoh, was used as nationalistic propaganda against the Persian rulers who conquered Egypt, so that it can be assumed that the author came from the Egyptian elite or priesthood. Its sequel, as Ryholt states, was used in favour of Alexander the Great, which underlines the sophisticated use of political propaganda.[102]

100 Winter, "Alexander der Große als Pharao", 205–207, provides an overview of the evidence. *Contra* Burstein, "Pharaoh Alexander", who does not believe that Alexander was crowned in Egypt. See also Pfeiffer "Alexander der Große in Ägypten". For a discussion of Alexander as pharaoh and the attestations of his royal titulary see Bosch-Puche, "Egyptian Royal Titulary" I and II (hieroglyphic sources); Bosch-Puche and Moje, "Alexander the Great's Name" (contemporary demotic sources).

101 For the context of the Graeco-Egyptian Alexander Romance and its Egyptian origins of Alexander's birth legend, see Hoffmann, "Der Trug des Nektanebos", 165–166, 348–349. For a translation and analysis of the Greek version, see Dowden, "Pseudo-Callisthenes", and Jasnow, "Greek Alexander Romance".

102 Ryholt, "Nectanebo's Dream". For the Greek version of Nectanebo's Dream, see Gauger,

Alexander was perceived and promoted as the liberator from the Persians. In his reign, Egyptian temples in the Delta, Hermopolis Magna, the Theban area, and Baharia Oasis were extended and embellished.[103] Particularly significant is the bark sanctuary, built within the Luxor temple, dedicated to the state god Amun.[104] Luxor temple was of utmost importance for the ideology of kingship. During the Opet festival at Luxor, the king was worshiped as the living royal ka, the chief earthly manifestation of the creator god. As a god's son, Alexander was himself a god. His "visible activities in the human world had invisible counterparts in the divine world, and his ritual actions had important consequences for the two parallel, interconnected realms".[105] It is very significant that Alexander decided, no doubt on advice from the priests, to rebuild a bark shrine in precisely this temple. He was thus connected with the great native rulers of Egypt and their ka by renovating the divine temple of Luxor.[106] The ancestral ka of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty kings was reborn in Alexander, and he was associated once more with Amun, first in his Libyan form of Ammon in Siwa, now with Amun-Re, the all-powerful Creator and king of gods.

Under Alexander's direct successors, his brother Philip Arrhidaios (323–317) and his son Alexander IV (317–310), Egyptian temples continued to be decorated.[107] Work accomplished under them includes the decoration of the bark sanctuary of Philip Arrhidaios in Karnak, perhaps already constructed under

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"Traum des Nektanebos". See also Hoffmann, "Der Trug des Nektanebos", 162–165, 348. See above, section 3.1.1 above (with notes 20–21).

103 For a list of attestations of Alexander's building activity at Egyptian temples, see Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 138; Winter, "Alexander der Große als Pharao"; Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König …"*, 361; Chauveau, "L'Égypte en transition", 390–393; Schäfer, "Alexander der Große. Pharao und Priester"; Bosch-Puche, "Egyptian Royal Titulary of Alexander the Great" I and II. Ladynin, "The Argeadai building program in Egypt".

104 Abd el-Razik, *Darstellungen und Texte*; Waitkus, *Untersuchungen zu Kult*, vol. I, 45–60, vol. II, 60–89.

105 Bell, "New Kingdom ⟨Divine⟩ Temple", 180.

106 Bell, "Luxor Temple", and Bell, "New Kingdom ⟨Divine⟩ Temple". *Contra*: Waitkus, *Untersuchungen zu Kult*, 280–281, who assumes that the ka does not play an overly important role in the temple of Luxor.

107 For a list of attestations, see Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König …"*, 362 (Philip Arrhidaios), 362–363 (Alexander IV); Chauveau, "L'Égypte en transition", 393–395 (Philip Arrhidaios), 395–396 (Alexander IV); Ladynin, "The Argeadai building program in Egypt", 223–228 (Alexander III to Alexander IV).

Nectanebo II,[108] and of a gate at the temple of Khnum on Elephantine,[109] which was inscribed with the names of Alexander IV (fig. 5.8).

The amount of building work undertaken in the relatively short Macedonian period is in no way comparable with that of the thirty-seven years of the Thirtieth Dynasty, either in the amount or in inventiveness. Alexander the Great used the ideas of Egyptian divine kingship for his own purpose and thus fulfilled the requirements. Under his two immediate successors, Egyptian kingship cannot have played the same major role, but the native priests had at least enough funds to continue with the building work, although Philip Arrhidaios and Alexander IV, a relatively small child, never visited Egypt. Ptolemy the Satrap, who ruled the country in their name as an absolute autocrat, must have had input into the decisions. The Satrap Stele shows that by 311 he was in charge. One can also imagine the Ptolemies, as believers in religion in general, would have accepted the local gods and assumed they should support them. During his reign as Ptolemy I (306–283/2), much emphasis was put on religious politics, as the creation, or at least active promotion, of the cult of the Graeco-Egyptian god Serapis attests. From Ptolemy II onwards, that cult was closely connected with the ruler-cult.[110]

When they assumed power, the Ptolemies had to establish a stable political base. It was therefore necessary to respond to the needs of the Egyptian population, to which the native priesthoods held the key. On the Satrap Stele it is reported that Ptolemy the Satrap attended to the needs of the Egyptian temples already when governor.[111] The stele was once set up in a temple, according to its texts presumably in Buto in the Delta, but was discovered in 1870 in Cairo, re-built in a mosque. It is now housed in the Egyptian Museum (CGC 22182). Its date in line 1, the first month of *Akhet*, year 7 of Alexander IV (November/December 311) is also the *terminus ante quem* for the move of the capital to Alexandria, described in line 4: "Ptolemy moved his residence to the enclosure of Alexander on the shore of the great sea of the Greeks (Alexandria)".

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108 Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê*, 136–141. For further references, see Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 140; Chauveau, "L'Égypte en transition", 394; Blöbaum, *"Denn ich bin ein König ..."*, 362, no. Ar-PA-010.

109 Bickel, "Dekoration des Tempeltores". According to Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 141, several relief blocks at Sebennytos in the Delta (see fig. 5.1) with the name of Alexander IV confirm that the decoration of the granite walls of the temple of Nectanebo II for Osiris-Shu, suspended in 343 when the Persians re-conquered Egypt, was resumed. See also section 3.1 above.

110 Pfeiffer, "The God Serapis".

111 For references to the Satrap Stele, see Section 2 above, including n. 16.

FIGURE 5.8 *Elephantine, temple of Khnum, gate of Alexander IV*
PHOTOGRAPH: AUTHOR

For the present discussion, the last section of the Satrap Stele (lines 12–18), in which the earlier donation of Khababash, probably a native rival king during the Persian occupation, is of particular importance: Ptolemy reaffirms the priests in their possession of certain areas of the Delta in order to support the

temple of Buto. In return, the priests reassure him of divine support, which, of course, implies their own support. This example is a key to understanding the effort which went into constructing temples and thus caring for the Egyptian cults: according to the principle *do ut des*, the Ptolemaic ruler would be blessed and supported by the Egyptian deities and thus by the clergy.

Alexander the Great's benevolent attitude to the Egyptian temples and cults must have served as a crucial model for Ptolemy I Soter and his successors. The latter not only developed huge new projects, but also continued with large-scale temple building and decoration, where Thirtieth Dynasty projects had been interrupted by the second Persian occupation. Since Soter's reign was overshadowed by wars against the other *Diadochoi* and much of the country's resources was spent on developing Alexandria and on founding Ptolemais Hermiou in Upper Egypt, it is not surprising that his building projects did not equal those of the Thirtieth Dynasty or the later Ptolemaic rulers, especially Ptolemies VI Philometor and VIII Euergetes II.[112] However, his name appears on several chapels, temple reliefs, and stelae. Swinnen published in 1973 a study of the religious politics of Ptolemy I Soter, including a list of places where Egyptian temples were extended or embellished during his rule. At the following places, from north to south, Soter's names are preserved:[113] Tanis; perhaps Behbeit el-Hagar;[114] Terenouthis at the western edge of the Delta, where a temple for Hathor-Therenouthis was begun; Naukratis,[115] where a presumably unfinished Egyptian temple of the Thirtieth Dynasty was located; Tebtynis, where a new temple for the local crocodile god Soknebtunis was built; blocks are attested from Per-khefet, probably near Oxyrhynchos; Sharuna, where a temple was begun under Ptolemy I and decorated under Ptolemy II; Cusae (el-Quseia), where a Hathor temple was built; Tuna el-Gebel; Hermopolis; possibly Edfu;[116] and Elephantine.

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112 Minas, "Die Dekorationstätigkeit", Teil 1 and Teil 2.

113 Swinnen, "Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée Ier", 118. Further refined by Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 154–157. See also Derchain, *Zwei Kapellen*, 4, n. 10–11, who referred to possible building activities in Akhmim and Medamud, but the evidence is unclear.

114 See n. 27 above: Swinnen, "Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée Ier", 118, cautiously connected a naos found at Mit Ghamr, inscribed with Soter's cartouches, with Behbeit el-Hagar. Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 154–157, does not list the site.

115 See also Yoyotte, *Histoire, géographie et religion de l'Égypte ancienne*, 309 (with further references).

116 In 1984, at least thirty-nine decorated and undecorated blocks from earlier structures were excavated under the pavement of the Ptolemaic forecourt of the Edfu temple. Many fragments can be assigned to a Kushite Sed-festival gate. Others bear inscriptions of a Seventeenth Dynasty king, Thutmose III (Eighteenth Dynasty), Saite kings (Twenty-sixth

Most traces of Soter's building programme come from Middle Egypt, especially from Sharuna and Tuna el-Gebel. Hermopolis and its necropolis Tuna el-Gebel were vibrant cult places at the time of transition from the Thirtieth Dynasty to the early Hellenistic period, and Soter's building activity in this area demonstrates that the Ptolemies often built at places favoured by the Thirtieth Dynasty. Khemenu, Greek Hermopolis, was the capital of the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome and had been an important administrative centre since an early date. The inhabitants of Hermopolis apparently assisted Nectanebo I, then only a general, against Nepherites II, the last king of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty, and Nectanebo I therefore embellished the site with massive temple buildings that are mostly lost, but described in the text of a limestone stele, now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (JE 72130). The stele is 2.26 m high and inscribed with thirty-five lines of hieroglyphic text.[117] Also under Nectanebo I, the temple of Nehemet-away was constructed and the temple of Thoth renovated. Nehemet-away was a creator goddess and consort of Thoth; according to the stele, both deities were responsible for Nectanebo's ascent to the throne (section C, l. 9–11).[118] The inscription not only gives technical details of the temple construction and decoration, but also attests to the use of royal propaganda, including the divine selection of the king by a god and goddess, as well as rewards to the local priesthood for their support in gaining the throne. The temple of Thoth was further expanded under Nectanebo II and Philip Arrhidaios.[119]

Tuna el-Gebel and Hermopolis continued to play an important role into the Roman period. Monuments include a wide variety of funerary chapels in the form of small temples at the necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, of which that of Petosiris, high priest of Thoth, is the best preserved and highly innovative, constructed around 300 BCE.[120]

Dynasty), and the throne name *stp-n-rʿ mrj-jmn*. This throne name could belong to Alexander the Great, Philip Arrhidaios, or Ptolemy I Soter, indicating that the current temple is based on foundations that include Macedonian or early Ptolemaic blocks. See Leclant and Clerc, "Fouilles et travaux 1984–85", 287–288; 1987, 349, fig. 56–59 on pls. 43–45; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 50; von Falck, "Geschichte des Horus-Tempels" (with further references, but not to the Macedonian-Ptolemaic throne name or structure); Patanè, *Marginalia*, 33–36 (colour plates). I thank John Baines and Erich Winter for sharing their photographs of this throne name with me.

117 Roeder, "Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften", 375–442. See also Grallert, *Bauen—Stiften—Weihen*, 503–504, 672; Klotz, "Two Overlooked Oracles".

118 Roeder, "Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften", 390–391.

119 Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, 111, 131. See Kessler, "Hermopolis", 96.

120 Lefebvre, *Tombeau de Petosiris*; Cherpion et al., *Le tombeau de Pétosiris à Touna el-Gebel*. For an overview and the context, see Lembke, "Petosiris-Necropolis", 231–232.

Tuna el-Gebel is also famous for its animal cemeteries and the burial of mummified ibises, the sacred animals of Thoth. The practice begun in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the cult received increasing attention under the Thirtieth Dynasty, whose reforms of animal cults were continued under the Ptolemies.[121] Several underground chapels, cased with limestone blocks, were connected to the subterranean Ibiotapheion. These, which belong to the time of Ptolemy I, are decorated in partly well preserved colours, on which the grid system still survives in some cases. In comparison to the rest of Soter's construction work, two relatively well preserved cult chapels for Thoth in his form of Osiris-Ibis and Osiris-Baboon from Tuna el-Gebel, now housed in the Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim (fig. 5.9) and in the Egyptian Museum Cairo.

They exemplify strong royal support for the animal cult at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, at a site where reliefs in Hellenizing style are attested for the first time in Petosiris' tomb chapel.[122] The surviving reliefs in the chapel show the king offering to Thoth in several manifestations, Isis, Harsiese, and further deities.[123] Kessler assumes that these chapels were part of a larger construction project that probably also included the above-ground *wabet* and the great temple of Thoth. When exactly in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter the project was begun remains unclear. Kessler suggests 300–295, but the planning might have started as early as the reign of Philip Arrhidaios, when Ptolemy was already ruling Egypt as satrap and involved in the cult politics.[124]

None of Soter's temples survives. Only blocks or traces of buildings are preserved, most of them coming from Middle Egypt. This pattern distorts the picture of the construction and decoration work under Ptolemy I.[125] The sociocultural context of the Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic period, their function as centres of learning that produced vast numbers of hieroglyphic and literary texts, and their artistic aspects are almost exclusively known through later

121 Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere*, 194–219, 223–244.

122 For Petosiris' input into the building and decoration programme, see Kessler, *Tuna el-Gebel* II, 126–131.

123 Derchain, *Zwei Kapellen*; Karig, "Einige Bemerkungen"; Kessler, *Tuna el-Gebel* II, 2, demonstrates that the reliefs published byDerchain belong to the "Paviankultkammer G-C-C-2" in Tuna el-Gebel and adjusts Derchain's sequence of scenes.

124 Kessler, *Tuna el-Gebel* II, 130. The cartouches of Alexander's brother Philip Arrhidaios are attested inside the great temple of Hermopolis.

125 Derchain, *Zwei Kapellen*, 4–5, assumed that the centre of Soter's construction work was in Middle Egypt since most finds come from there (see map on his p. 5).

FIGURE 5.9 *Tuna el-Gebel, chapel of Ptolemy I Soter, now in Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum*
PHOTOGRAPH: ROEMER- AND PELIZAEUS-MUSEUM HILDESHEIM

examples, almost completely in southern Upper Egypt.[126] The cultural centre, however, was in the north and the most creative regions were probably in the Delta and the Memphite area. Therefore, one could assume that temples in the north were larger and more richly decorated than those in the provincial south. The bias towards the south causes well-known problems of interpretation.

According to a mythical text in the temple of Horus at Edfu, monumental temple architecture was developed north of Memphis near the sanctuary of Imhotep close to Djoser's pyramid, dating to the Third Dynasty.[127] The current

126 Finnestad, "Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods", 198, 227–232.
127 Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, 146, paragraph 98.

Ptolemaic temple at Edfu replaced a much older construction that seems to have had a link to Memphis.[128] The enclosure wall is said to be a similar construction to that first begun by those of old, "like what was on the great ground plan in this book which fell from heaven north of Memphis" (*mj wn ḥr sn<u>t</u> wr n m<u>d</u>ꜣ.t tn hꜣj.t n p.t mḥ.t jnb ḥ<u>d</u>*).[129] Another text in the same temple states that the pattern which the Ptolemaic builders followed when constructing this enclosure wall was derived from "the book of designing a temple" (*šfd.t n sšm ḥw.t-n<u>t</u>r*), which Imhotep himself was supposed to have composed.[130]

We also learn from the Edfu text that temple architecture was canonical, which means that the temple can be understood as the three-dimensional realization of what was written in "the book". One might wonder whether this inscription refers to the "Book of the Temple",[131] a handbook or manual that, as Quack establishes, describes how the ideal Egyptian temple should be built and operated. This book is attested in over forty fragmentary manuscripts, demonstrating its wide and supra-regional distribution in antiquity. The mostly unpublished papyri all date to the Roman period, but the manual's origin predates the foundation of Edfu in 237 BCE.

5 Conclusion

As Spencer emphasizes, the temple complexes of the Late Period, especially those of the Thirtieth Dynasty, should be seen as "emblems of Egyptian culture".[132] With the enclosure walls, encircling layers of dark rooms, halls, and corridors, the sanctuaries in the temples of the last native dynasty were much more protected than earlier ones, thus enhancing the feeling of seclusion. And in the most sacred area of these fortress-like temples were placed the naoi. The divine world was shielded from the human world, creating a protected dwelling space of the divine, with its protection emphasized by the darkness of the entire temple structure, especially the sanctuary. The only light filled structures were the pronaoi, colonnaded courts, and the rooftop with its kiosk, necessary

128 See n. 116 above for comments on archaeologically attested earlier structures.

129 *Edfou* VI 6, 4. Translation by author. See Blackman and Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu", 36.

130 *Edfou* VI 10, 10. Translation by author. See Blackman and Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu", 36.

131 Quack, "Die Theologisierung der bürokratischen Norm".

132 Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 51.

for the New Year festival and for greeting the rising sun. Assmann states that this defensive character might reflect political circumstances, especially after the Persian occupation,[133] but this might be a retrospective construction based on our knowledge of how Egyptian civilisation came to an end; before the first century, or even a bit later, temple construction could have felt like a golden age. On the other hand and on a more practical level, the fourth century was a time of fortification building,[134] and the temple enclosure walls seem to have been used by Ptolemaic garrisons, with the Ptolemaic kings reinforcing the link between the army and the temples.[135]

A general increase in decoration within temples can be discerned from the Old Kingdom onwards, culminating in the large Graeco-Roman period temples. The temple walls were decorated on an unprecedented scale with scenes and inscriptions that provide manifold insights into the religious thinking of the priests, cult topography, mythology, religious festivals, daily cults, the ruler cult, and building history, as well as the functions of various rooms. The texts display the codification of knowledge on an unprecedented scale. The periods of foreign rule over Egypt seemed to have reduced the self-evident implications of temples and made it necessary to transcribe priestly knowledge on the temple walls, exceeding what was necessary for ritual purposes. This development was accompanied by the evolution of the writing system: the Egyptian scholar priests of the Graeco-Roman period developed for the indigenous temples a highly intellectual, very artificial language and a vastly expanded hieroglyphic writing system.

A very distinctive feature that exemplifies the new degree of codification and organization is the framing column in ritual offering scenes: Graeco-Roman period temples exhibit a highly meaningful organisation of these, and they were distributed in registers over entire walls. The so-called *Randzeile*, or framing column of the Graeco-Roman period temple reliefs, started to develop into its distinctive formula already in the Thirtieth Dynasty, as Winter established.[136] According to Baines, who studied New Kingdom forerunners, there remains a salient distinction between the designs of the New Kingdom and the

133 Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 179: "Die Architektur ist geprägt durch Sicherheitsvorkehrungen, die von einem tiefen Gefährdungsbewußtsein, einer Art "Profanisierungsangst" diktiert sind."

134 See, for example, the fortification of Pelusium: Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*, XV 42, 13. See Carrez-Maratray, *Péluse et l'angle oriental du delta Egyptien*, 93: no. 149.

135 See Dietze, "Temples and Soldiers in Southern Ptolemaic Egypt", 77–89 (especially p. 88).

136 Winter, *Untersuchungen*, 19, 67.

Graeco-Roman period.[137] Those of the New Kingdom lack an overall schema and appear relatively free, although they are not undisciplined or random. In comparison, the Graeco-Roman forms are highly systematized and comprehensive, following much more rigid frameworks. This development had its starting point at least in the Thirtieth Dynasty, perhaps already in the preceding Twenty-ninth Dynasty, but in any case after the first Persian period.

Temples of the last native dynasty embodied the sense of identity of the Egyptian elite. We should assume non-royal involvement in temple building, and Spencer sees in it one of the main reasons that the traditional forms of Egyptian cult places persisted through periods of foreign occupation.[138] This is also true for the Hellenistic and Roman period.[139] As hieroglyphic Egyptian and Demotic developed, they hardly took in Greek vocabulary. This does show the commitment to traditional culture. Most relevant evidence, for example from Edfu and Dendera, is a bit later than what is considered here, but it must have had a point of departure within the fourth century BCE.

Ptolemaic temple plans are clearly connected to those of the Thirtieth Dynasty. It seems that a master plan was developed, including important elements like the enclosure wall, the axis, the *wabet*, the birth house, and the ambulatory around the sanctuary as well as the sequence of halls, corridors, and rooms—features that were developed under the last native pharaohs or at least are for the first time attested from the Thirtieth Dynasty. The reasons for this continuity might have been to avoid any break from past principles[140] and to connect themselves to legitimate rulers—or, on a more practical level, because most temples of the Old to the New Kingdom had long since disappeared, whereas temples of the Thirtieth Dynasty were still standing when the Ptolemies and later the Roman emperors ruled Egypt. This pattern also relates to the fact that in the Thirtieth Dynasty older temples were commonly razed to the ground to build new ones, ideally at a larger scale.

Ptolemy I Soter's name is not attested so far in the huge temple complexes of the Thirtieth Dynasty, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, but the name of his son and successor Ptolemy II is. At Tell Basta, no traces of the Ptolemaic period were known until the copy of the Canopus decree was found in 2004. The Satrap Stele from the area of Buto is another lucky piece of evidence that considerably changed our view of the early Hellenistic period in

137 Baines, "King, Temple, and Cosmos", 31.

138 See Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb*, 51; Spencer, "Sustaining Egyptian Culture?", 441–446, for a discussion of the king as the initiator of temple construction.

139 See Minas-Nerpel, "Egyptian temples of the Roman Period".

140 Niederberger, *Der Chnumtempel*, 122.

Egypt and Soter's involvement with, and perception by, the native priesthood, as chances of survival often influence our picture. From rather few surviving temple blocks, some stelae and chapels, we know that Ptolemy I Soter followed Alexander in promoting native cults and in supporting the temples, thus fulfilling his role as pharaoh. However, only his successor succeeded in leaving huge temples in Egypt that spring immediately to mind: Athribis, Dendera, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae, to mention the obvious ones. Only under Ptolemy II was the ruler cult established in the Egyptian temples,[141] but without Ptolemy I and the Macedonian dynasty its inauguration would not have been possible. Once again, a royal line was established that would leave in Egypt its massive imprint through temple complexes, often larger than anything which went before. These structures took into account the architectural developments of the last native dynasties of Egypt.

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141 Minas, *Die hieroglyphischen Ahnenreihen*; Pfeiffer, *Herrscher- und Dynastiekulte*.

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CHAPTER 6

The Satrap Stele of Ptolemy: A Reassessment

Boyo G. Ockinga

The so-called "Satrap Stele" (CGC 22263) is the most significant native Egyptian source on Ptolemy from the period before he assumed the kingship.[1] The text has eighteen lines: the first and the beginning of the second give the titulary of Alexander IV, this is followed by a list of Ptolemy's epithets, and from the end of line 3 to the end of line 6 we have an account of Ptolemy's military exploits. Most of the text, lines 7 to 18, focuses on Ptolemy's benefactions for the gods and temples of Buto.

As D. Schäfer argues, the activities of Ptolemy recorded on the Satrap Stele are those traditionally expected of an ancient Egyptian king, namely taking care of the needs of the gods and protecting Egypt from foreign foes.[2] If Ptolemy is shown as *acting* like a king, do the epithets and the phraseology that refer to him also *describe* him in royal terms? This paper will examine in detail the language used in the text to refer to Ptolemy, so providing the basis for an evaluation of the ancient author(s) understanding of his position at the time.[3]

1 For a recent English translation see Ritner, "The Satrap Stele". A good photograph of the stele can be found in Grimm, *Alexandria*, Abb. 33, p. 36. The most recent comprehensive study of the stele is by Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen*, who also provides a facsimile copy of the hieroglyphic text with transliteration and translation, as well as a very extensive bibliography (pp. XIII–XLVI). In the same year that her work appeared, Morenz offered a detailed discussion of what he refers to as the "Hymn to Ptolemy" at the beginning of the text, dealing in particular with the allusions to the classical literary compositions *The Story of Sinuhe* and the *Prophecy of Neferty* found in the various epithets applied to Ptolemy: Morenz, "Alte Hüte auf neuen Köpfen". The studies of both Schäfer and Morenz only became available to me after this paper was delivered (September, 2011) and many of the observations made by Morenz, in particular on the allusions to the classical literary texts *The Tale of Sinuhe* and the *Prophecy of Neferty*, coincide with mine. For a discussion of the identity of the Persian *Ḫšryšꜣ* and a detailed analysis of lines 8–11 of the stele (*Urk* II, 16.15–18.6) see Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš*(*ꜣ*): His Name and Deeds according to the Satrap Stela", which also includes an extensive bibliography on the stele. For a reappraisal of Ptolemy, see now the new study by Ian Worthington, *Ptolemy I King and Pharaoh of Egypt* who discusses the stele on pgs. 122–125.

2 Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen*, 193.

3 Schäfer certainly recognizes that the language used to refer to Ptolemy also calls to mind royal phraseology and that the literary form of the section of the text that deals with Ptolemy's

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Section 1 considers the implications of the designation "great chief"; Section 2 examines in detail the 13 epithets used to describe Ptolemy against the background of their earlier usage; Section 3 discusses the royal phraseology that appears in the main text.[4] In Section 4 the institutional memory underlying the authors' use of older literary traditions is examined. Finally, Section 5 considers what the epithets and phraseology can tell us of the Egyptian priests' perception of Ptolemy, drawing into the discussion the controversial question of whether, in lines 8–12, he is referred to as *ḥm=f* "His Majesty" and concluding by considering the significance of the empty cartouches.

1 The Introduction to the Text

Ptolemy had exercised real power in Egypt since becoming satrap in 323 BCE, yet the stele recognizes Alexander IV, a ca. 10-year-old boy, as the legitimate king. The royal cartouches in the lunette of the stele may, curiously, be empty, but the text proper is dated to the seventh year (311 BCE) of Alexander's reign and begins, like every traditional royal inscription, with his official five-fold titulary. We also note that the text presents Alexander as fulfilling all the requirements of a legitimate Egyptian king: he is one "to whom the office of his father was given", the reference being to his earthly father, Alexander III; he is also *Stp-n-Ỉmn.w*, "the chosen one of [the state god] Amun". While the beginning of line two clearly states "He [Alexander] is the king [*nsw*] in the Two Lands [Egypt] and the foreign lands" (thus also recognizing him as the legitimate king of the rest of Alexander's empire), it notes that "His Majesty is amongst the Asiatics,[5] while there is a great chief in Egypt—Ptolemy [is] his name", i.e. the king does not reside in Egypt, while Ptolemy does.

The term "great chief" used to designate Ptolemy is of interest. His position was an unusual one: the closest ancient Egyptian equivalent would have been the Viceroy of Nubia ("King's son of Kush"), but the authors of the text chose a term that in New Kingdom Egypt was used for foreign rulers, for example the Hittite king;[6] in the mid-eighth century BCE, in the account of the conquest

benefactions for the gods of Buto is that of the *Königsnovelle* or "royal novelette" (194); in her chapter II 6.1.3, she also discusses some of the details of the phraseology used; however, considerably more parallels can be identified.

4 These were not discussed by Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen*.

5 The term *Stt* here denotes the former Persian Empire, here including Macedon; see Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš*(?): His Name and Deeds according to the Satrap Stela", 109 n. 55.

6 *WB* I, 329.20; *KRI* II, 226.8 and *passim* (Hittite treaty); II, 234.14 and *passim* (Hittite Marriage

of Egypt by the Nubian king Piankhi, the term is used of some of the Egyptian rulers of the Delta principalities.[7] Some three centuries later, a similar situation was to arise with the position of Cornelius Gallus, the first Prefect of Egypt, and for him the designation *wr* "chief" was also chosen, qualified in his case not by the adjective *ꜥꜣ* "great" but *wsr* "mighty".[8]

Ptolemy may only be styled "great chief", but, following the titulary of Alexander IV, the text continues with seventeen epithets that all praise Ptolemy in fulsome terms and provide a valuable insight into how he was viewed by the influential priestly class.[9]

2 The Epithets of Lines 2–3

(1) *si͗ rnpi͗ pw ḳn m gbꜣ.wy=f*, "He is a youthful man, strong in his two arms." The closest parallels with regard to grammatical structure as well as content refer not to a king but to non-royal personages. In the so-called *Prophecy of Neferty*, a Middle Kingdom text (ca. 2000 BCE) set in the reign of the Fourth-Dynasty king Snefru, we read that at the king's request for a skilled scribe, his officials tell him of a lector priest of exceptional ability: "There is a great lector priest of Bastet, sovereign our lord, Neferty is his name"; *nḏs pw ḳn gbꜣ=f sš pw i͗ḳr ḏbꜣ.w=f*, "he is a citizen, strong in respect of his arm; he is a scribe, excellent in respect of his fingers". We have in the first clause a bi-partite *pw*-sentence followed by an adjectival phrase that qualifies the predicate (*ḳn gbꜣ=f*), which is very similar to the statement in the Satrap Stele. Probably also influenced by the text

stele). When he is referred to as an enemy, for example in the record of Ramesses II's battle of Kadesh, he is usually the "miserable fallen one" (*KRI* II, 16.1 and *passim*) or at best the *wr ḫsi͗* "the miserable chief" (*KRI* II, 16.4; 20.15).

7 *Urk* III, 12.1 and 43.2.

8 *Urk* II, 1 3.5; Hoffmann et al., *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus*, 72 f.

9 Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš*(?): His Name and Deeds according to the Satrap Stela" 102, 113, argues that the influence of the Graeco-Macedonian elite can be detected in the stele's ideological trend; it was their intention to confer on the satrap "an image appropriate in traditional Egyptian texts to a Pharaoh only". Schäfer, "Nachfolge und Legitimierung in Ägypten im Zeitalter der Diadochen" 451, observes that the authors of the text skilfully present Ptolemy as someone who would be a good and legitimate pharaoh. Although only directly accessible to the educated priestly class, she sees the text as a piece of propaganda in his favour whose message would also have been disseminated orally, at least in the territory of Buto.

of the *Prophecy of Neferty*, Senenmut, the well-known official who served Hatshepsut, is called *nḏs ḳn gbꜣ=f, šmsỉ nsw ḥr ḫꜣs.(w)t rsy.(w)t mḥ.ty(w)t ỉꜣb.ty(w) ỉmn.ty(w)* "a citizen, strong in respect of his arm; one who followed the king in the northern, southern, eastern, and western foreign land(s)".[10] Here, the term is probably also used in a general sense, emphasizing the efficiency of Senenmut rather than his military prowess, even if following the king may have taken him on campaigns.

What we do encounter in royal phraseology is the youthful vigour attributed to Ptolemy. The expression *sỉ rnpỉ* "youthful man"[11] is not found, but the adjective *rnpỉ* "youthful" is well attested with other nouns. A synonymous expression is *sfy rnpỉ* "youthful young man", where *ḥwn* is replaced by *sfy*: Ramesses III is a *sfy rnpỉ ḳn mỉ Bꜥl* "youthful young man, strong like Baal"; this is followed by the epithet *nsw ꜥrꜥr sḫr.w nb sḥ.w*, "a king who carries out plans, lord of counsel".[12] This juxtaposition of the qualities of youthfulness, strength and good counsel is also found in the Satrap Stele where *sỉ rnpỉ pw ḳn m gbꜣ.wy=f*, "he is a youthful man, strong in his two arms", is followed by *ꜣḫ sḥ*, "effective of counsel" (see below). These three qualities are also juxtaposed in another text of Ramesses III: he is *ḥwn nṯr.y sfy špsy wr pḥ.ty nḫt ꜥ.w srḫ.y tnr nb sḥ.w mn-ỉb spd sḫr.w siꜣ ꜥnḫ mỉ Mḥ.y ỉp mỉ Šw sꜣ Rꜥ.w*, "a divine youth, splendid young man, great of strength, strong of arm, strong counsellor, lord of counsels, firm hearted, acute of plans, one who perceives life like 'the Filler',[13] discerning like Shu the son of Re".[14]

Another synonymous expression is *ḥwn rnpỉ*, "youthful young man", which is used of Ramesses II: the king is described as *ỉp m ỉb=f ḥr smnḫ s[ḫr.w?] mỉ Ptḥ grg tꜣ m šꜣꜥ*, "discerning of mind, realizing plans, like Ptah who founded the earth at the beginning". The text then continues *ỉsk ḥm=f m ḥwn rnpỉ ṯmꜣ ꜥ.w*, "Now, His Majesty was a youthful young man, strong-armed".[15] Here too, wisdom, youth, and strength appear together.

10 *Urk* IV, 414.17.

11 The choice of *sỉ* "man" rather than *ḥwn* "young man" or *sfy* "youth" may very well be deliberate. Ptolemy was a man of 42 when he gained control of Egypt and by the time the stele text was composed he was in his 50s.

12 Medinet Habu, second court, south side; KRI V, 25.15, DZA 25.991.540.

13 A reference to the god of learning Thoth, who in the myth healed ("filled") the injured eye of Horus.

14 KRI V, 59.7.

15 Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, interior of court, North Wall; KRI II, 535.9–10, DZA 25.991.570.

The expression *nb rnpỉ*, "youthful lord", also emphasizes the youthfulness of the king. In the record of the battle of Kadesh, we read *ỉst ḥm=f m nb rnpỉ pri-ʿ.w ỉwty sn.nw=f*, "Now His Majesty (Ramesses II) was a youthful lord, active, without his second".[16] Similar ideas are encountered in several inscriptions of Ramesses III: he is *nb rnpỉ nḫt ʿ.w mỉ Ỉtm.w*, "a youthful lord, mighty of arm like Atum";[17] *nb rnpỉ pri ʿ.w sr n=f nḫt.w m ẖ.t*, "a youthful lord, active, for whom victory was foretold in the womb";[18] *snḏ=f šfy.t=f m ỉkm ḥr Km.t nsw bỉ.ty nb rnpỉ ṯḥn ḫʿỉ.w mỉ ỉʿḥ*, "the fear of him and the awe of him are a shield over Egypt; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, a youthful lord, gleaming of appearances like the moon".[19] In almost all of these examples, albeit using different vocabulary to the Satrap Stele, the youth of the king is combined with reference to his strength.

The expression *ḳn gbꜣ*, "strong of arm", which is very close to the Satrap Stele's *ḳn m gbꜣ=f*, "strong in respect of his arm", appears very frequently in images of the king in the texts of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. In an inscription on the south outer wall, the king is "the perfect god who smites the Meshwesh [Libyans] who destroys the nose of the Nubians" and *ḳn gbꜣ dr ḫꜣs.wt*, "strong armed, who subdues the foreign lands".[20] In the Second Court, south side, the king is "one who is prepared like a bull, *ḳn gbꜣ dm ḥn.ty* strong armed, sharp of horns".[21] On the north inner side of the first pylon, the defeated enemies refer to the king as *Mnṯ.w ḳn gbꜣ*, "Mont [the war god] strong armed".[22]

The word *gbꜣ* is regularly used when referring to the king's military activity. In a rhetorical text over defeated Libyan foes, the king is said to be "Mont when he sets out, who shines upon horse, who charges into hundreds of thousands, mighty of arm, who stretches out the arm (*pd gbꜣ*) [and] sends his arrow to the place he wished."[23] Another rhetorical text above the king refers to him as "The king, a divine falcon, who seizes the one who attacks him, potent, mighty, who relies upon his strong arm, raging, great of strength, who slew the Meshwesh, who are crushed and prostrate before his horses; a brave one who charges into the multitude like one rejoicing [so that they are] destroyed, slaughtered and cast down in their place; relaxed of arm (*gbꜣ*), his arrow having been sent

16 KRI II, 5 §7.

17 Medinet Habu, southern outer wall, Palace window of appearance; KRI V,102.2–3, DZA 25.991.450.

18 Medinet Habu 2nd Libyan War Year 11 Inscription; KRI V, 59.10–12, DZA 25.991.460.

19 Medinet Habu 1st Libyan War Year 5 Inscription; KRI V, 20.16–21.1, DZA 25.991.480.

20 KRI V, 101.12–13; DZA 30.637.630; MH II, pl. 114.

21 KRI V, 23.4–5; DZA 30.637.640.

22 KRI V, 65.6.

23 KRI V, 14.2–3.

where he [wishes]."[24] In the context of a speech by the king to the princes and officials, in which he enumerates all that he has done, he claims: "I have rescued my infantry, [I have protected] the infantry, my arm (*gbꜣ*) has shielded the people".[25]

(2) *ꜣḫ sḫ*, "effective of counsel". Qualities incorporating the term *sḫ* "counsel" are found in association with the king from the New Kingdom onward,[26] but the epithet has its origins in the phraseology of Middle Kingdom officials in which they refer to themselves as counsellors. The closest to *ꜣḫ sḫ*, "effective of counsel", is found in an inscription of the nomarch Hapi-Djefai who claims that he is *rḏỉ.n nb=f wr.t=f ỉḳr sḫ m wḏ.tn=f*, "one whose greatness his lord [the king] caused; excellent of counsel in what he [the king] commanded him".[27] Here, the adjective *ỉḳr*, "excellent" is used rather than the Satrap Stele's *ꜣḫ*, "effective".

The qualities an official has as a counsellor can be expressed in other ways, for example with the epithet *nb sḫ*, "lord of counsel": in a section of text where he speaks of himself as a judge Hapi-Djefai says *ỉnk … ꜥḳꜣ ib ỉwty gsꜣ=f nb sḫ*, "I was … straightforward, one without favouritism, lord of counsel".[28]

Officials also describe themselves as *sḫ.y*, "counsellor", using a nisbe noun derived from *sḫ*. In his tomb at Deir Rifeh, Nefer-Khnum is said to be *wr mrw.ty ꜥꜣ šf.yt sḫ.y*, "much loved, greatly respected, a counsellor".[29] The term *sḫ.y* is also attested in a non-royal text of the early first millennium BCE. In his biographical inscription, the official Djedkhonsiuefankh (Twenty-second Dynasty) says of himself: *ḏỉ=ỉ ḏd=tn ḥsỉ.y r=ỉ n wr ḫpr.t n=ỉ nḫp.n wỉ Ḫnm.w m ꜣḫ ib m sḫ.y mnḫ sp.w*, "I will cause that you [future readers of his biography] will say "A favoured

24 KRI V, 43.12–15.

25 KRI V, 17.9–10.

26 See the references to *sḫ, nb sḫ, ỉḳr sḫ* in Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches I*.

27 Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 9, Line 350; *Urk* VII 66.7. In statements about the official's qualities as a counsellor, we also encounter *sḫr.w* in place of *sḫ*; another of Hapi-Djefai's epithets is *sḫntỉ.y ḥr mnḫ sḫr.w=f*, "one who was promoted because of the effectiveness of his plans" (Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 9, line 339; *Urk* VII, 66.11–12). See also Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, p. 274, 2.20.

28 Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 5, line 249; *Urk* VII 59.17–18.

29 Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 16, Tomb I, line 19.

one" concerning me because of the great [things] that happened to me. [The god] Khnum formed me as one usefully minded, as a counsellor, effective of deeds".[30]

It is in the New Kingdom that we first find references to the king's qualities as a counsellor and *sḥ.y* is also used of him. On the Beth Shan stele, Ramesses II is *sḥ.y rs-tp mnḫ sḫr.w pḥ.ty sḫr rḳy.w=f*, "a counsellor, watchful, effective of plans; a mighty one, who fells his enemies".[31] On the Hittite marriage stele, Ramesses II is *sḥ.y ỉp ỉb*, "a counsellor, considered of thought".[32] Ramesses III is said to be *sḥ.y mnḫ sḫr.w spd hp.w*, "a counsellor, efficient of plans, effective of laws".[33] As we have already seen above, in the discussion of *sỉ rnpy*, "youthful man", the concept of king as counsellor is associated with references to his martial qualities: Ramesses III is *sfy rnpỉ ḳn mỉ Bꜥl nsw ꜥrꜥr sḫr.w nb sḥ.w*, "youthful young man, strong like Baal, a king who carries out plans, lord of counsel".[34]

We find exact parallels for the Satrap Stele's *ꜣḫ sḥ* in the Late Period. In column 2 of the Shellal stele of Psamtek II (and its copy in Karnak, Twenty-sixth Dynasty), the king is *nṯr nfr ꜣḫ sḥ nsw ḳn mꜥr sp.w ṯmꜣ ꜥ.w ḥwỉ pḏ.t psḏ.t*, "the perfect god, effective of counsel, a strong king, successful of deeds, strong armed, who smites the nine bows".[35] On the statue of Darius (Twenty-seventh Dynasty) found at Susa, he is said to be *nb ḏr.t dꜣr pḏ.t psḏ.t ꜣḫ sḥ mꜥr sḫr.w nb ḫpš ꜥḳ=f m ꜥšꜣ.t stỉ r mḏd nn whỉ.n šsr=f*, "lord of [his own] hand, who subdues the Nine Bows, effective of counsel, successful of plans, lord of the scimitar when he enters into the masses, who shoots to hit [the mark] without his arrow going astray".[36] In the Thirtieth Dynasty, it is applied to the king in an inscription of Nectanebos I: on the shrine of Saft el Henneh, the king is designated *nṯr nfr ꜥꜣ pḥ.ty ṯmꜣ-ꜥ.w dr ḫꜣs.wt ꜣḫ sḥ*, "The perfect god, great of strength, strong armed, who quells the foreign lands, effective of counsel".[37]

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30 CGC 559; Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, vol. 1, 9–24; vol. 2, 433–440.

31 *KRI* II, 150.13.

32 *KRI* II, 235, 11–12.

33 Medinet Habu, second court south side, Inscription of Year 5; *KRI* V, 21.9, DZA 28.709.540; *MH* I Pl. 27–28.

34 Medinet Habu, second court south side; *KRI* V,25.15, DZA 25.991.540.

35 Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 341 and pl. 16 (Shellal stele) and 354 and pl. 17 (Karnak stele).

36 Column 3 of Text 2 (on the third fold of the garment); Yoyotte, "Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse", 255.

37 CGC 70021; Roeder, *Naos*, 62 § 295,1; DZA 28.708.910.

A little later, it is found in non-royal texts. In the tomb of Petosiris, a contemporary of Ptolemy, the epithet is applied to him and his wife. Petosiris is *ꜣḫ.t sḥ m nỉw.t=f ꜥꜣ ḥsw.t m spꜣ.t=f wr mrw.t ḫr ḥr nb*, "effective of counsel in his city, great of favour in his nome, great of affection with everyone".[38] The epithet is twice applied to Petosiris' wife: *spd rꜣ nḏm mdw ꜣḫ.t sḥ m trf=s*, "skilled of speech, sweet of words, effective of counsel in her writings";[39] *ꜣḫ.t rꜣ nḏm mdw ꜣḫ.t sḥ m drf=s*, "useful of speech, sweet of words, useful of counsel in her writings".[40] We also encounter it in a non-royal text at the end of the Ptolemaic period. The lady Taimhotep (reign of Cleopatra VII) is said to be *spd rꜣ nḏm mdw=s ꜣḫ sḥ*, "effective of speech, pleasant with respect to her words, effective of counsel".[41]

In Ptolemaic royal texts, epithets formed with *sḥ* are not uncommon. Queen Berenike (wife of Ptolemy III) is said to be *ꜣḫ sḥ*, "useful of counsel".[42] This may be influenced by the queen being identified with Isis, who can have the epithet *mnḫ sḥ*, "effective of counsel", e.g. in Philae.[43] Ptolemy XIII is said to be *spd sḫr.w mnḫ sḥ*, "efficient of plans, effective of counsel".[44] At Edfu, the king is *ỉḳr sḥ*, "excellent of counsel", and *mnḫ sḥ*, "effective of counsel".[45] Cleopatra VII is said to be *ꜣḫ sḥ*, "useful of counsel", in an inscription on the outer east wall of the temple of Dendera.[46] Later still, the Roman emperor Domitian is described as being *ꜣḫ sḥ m ỉrỉ.n=f nb*, "effective of counsel in all that he has done", on the *obeliscus Pamphilius* (Piazza Navona, Rome).[47]

(3) There are two possible readings for the first sign in this epithet, *sḫm*, the adjective verb "to be mighty" and the noun *ḫrp*, "one who controls, controller", derived from the verbal root "to control". Taking the first meaning,[48] *sḫm mšꜥ.w*,

38 Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* II, 75, text 102.3; DZA 28.708.860.

39 Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* II, 29, text 58.8.

40 Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* II, 35; text 61.8–9; DZA 28.708.850.

41 British Museum EA 147 line 3; DZA 28.708.880.

42 *Urk* VIII, 45.13.

43 *LGG* III, 315.1; similarly *mnḫ.t sḫr.w*, "effective of plans", *LGG* III 315.2.

44 De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, pp. 169, 754; DZA 28.708.640.

45 *Edfu* III, 181.15; IV, 354.16; see also Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 890.

46 DZA 28.708.950.

47 Grenier, "Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de l'obélisque Pamphili", 941; DZA 28.708.840.

48 As, for example, Ritner, "The Satrap Stele".

"mighty of armies", would be an epithet unique to the Satrap Stele. Presumably, it is understood as a demonstration of the power of Ptolemy in which case it stands in stark contrast to the situation in ancient Egypt where the king does not derive power from his army, but is himself a power that protects it. For example, Ramesses II is *mkỉ mšꜥ=f*, "one who protects his army",[49] *sbty ḏr m-rk mšꜥ=f*, "a strong wall around his army",[50] and *šdỉ mšꜥ=f*, "one who rescues his army". If one were to translate "controller of armies"[51] we would be dealing with a title that is otherwise unattested,[52] although there are many other titles formed with *ẖrp*.[53] One factor against interpreting the expression as a title here is that it would be the only one in what is otherwise a sequence of epithets.

(4) *wmt ỉb*, "stout hearted". This is an expression that is not found in non-royal contexts. The oldest attestation of this designation for the king comes from the Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe* (58–61), in the encomium on king Sesostris I: *wmt-ỉb pw mꜣꜣ=f ꜥšꜣ.t n rḏỉ.n=f ḥmsỉ.w ḥꜣ ỉb=f wdỉ-ḥr pw mꜣꜣ=f ỉꜣb.tyw(?) rš=f pw hꜣỉ{t}=f ⟨r⟩ rꜣ-pḏ.tyw*, "He is one stout of heart when he sees the masses; he does not let slackness surround his heart; eager when he sees the easterners(?); it is his joy when he descends on the 'bow people' [foreigners]". The epithet is very well attested in royal texts from the Ramesside Period onwards. Of Ramesses II, it is said in the Poem of the battle of Kadesh: *ḥm=f m nb rnpỉ prỉ-ꜥ.w ỉw.ty sn.nw=f ḫpš.wy=f wsr(.w) ỉb=f wmt(.w)*, "His majesty was a youthful lord, active, without his second, his arms strong, his heart stout".[54] In the inscription recording the siege of Dapur, Ramesses II is *nṯr nfr tnr ḳn ḥr ḫꜣs.wt wmt-ỉb m sky.w mn ḥr htr*, "the strong perfect god, mighty over the foreign lands, stout of heart in the fray."[55] In the year 8 inscription at Medinet Habu, it is said of Ramesses III: *šw.yt*

49 KRI II, 91,8; 195,10; 206; 220,6.

50 KRI II, 6.8.

51 As do Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, p. 68 and Morenz, "Alte Hüte auf neuen Köpfen", pp. 118 and 124 ("Heerführer").

52 The reference given by Schäfer (*Urk* IV 966.5) is not a title, but part of an epithet: Intef is *mḥ ỉb n.y nsw m ẖrp mšꜥ.w=f*, "confidant of the king in controlling his armies".

53 For New Kingdom examples, see nos. 1517–1559 in Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*.

54 KRI II, 6 §§ 7–8; similarly 120 § 89; 153.11.

55 KRI II, 173.9.

ḫpš=k ḥr tp mnf.yt=k ỉ-šm=sn mḥ(.w) m pḥ.ty=k ỉb=k wmt(.w) sḫr.w=k mnḫ(.w), "the shadow of your mighty arm is over your army, they come being filled with your power, your heart being stout, your plans effective".[56] It is also found used of Nectanebos I on the shrine from Saft el Henneh: *wmt-ỉb pw … n ꜥn m ꜣ.t s(ꜣ)s(ꜣ).y*, "stout hearted … without turning back in the moment of attack".[57] Here we have an echo of words describing the king in the classic text of *Sinuhe* (57): *ꜥḥꜣ-ỉb pw m ꜣ.t sꜣsꜣ ꜥn pw n rḏỉ.n=f sꜣ=f*, "he is a steadfast one in the time of attack; he is one who returns, he does not turn the back". *wmt ỉb* is also well attested as an epithet for the king in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions.[58]

(5) *mn ṯbw.ty*, "firm footed". This epithet is very well-attested in the phraseology of royal officials in the Twelfth Dynasty, where it appears in the context of statements in which the official stresses his loyalty to the king.[59] The army scribe Mentuhotep, for example, refers to himself as *mn ṯb.wt hr nmt.wt mḏḥ wꜣ.wt n.t nb tꜣ.wy*, "firm footed, easy of gait, who adheres to the ways of the Lord of the Two Lands [the king]".[60] It is not used in this way for officials in later periods, nor is it found in royal phraseology; however, in the Graeco-Roman period it is used to describe deities.[61]

56 KRI V, 27.16–28.1.

57 CGC 70021; Roeder, *Naos*, 62 § 295.1; DZA 20.505.280.

58 Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften*, 118.

59 Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 68.

60 Louvre C176: Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, 35, DZA 24.026.890. Similarly, Louvre C170: Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites*, 63, DZA 24.026.870; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of* Sinai, pl. XLIII, no. 150, DZA 24.026.840; Stele Leiden V.7: DZA 24.026.900; Hammamat 108, 4–5: Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 76, DZA 24.026.910; stele CGC 20080: Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, 96, DZA 24.026.920; stele CGC 20318: Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, p. 331, DZA 24.026.930; Stele of Sobek-khu, Manchester, line 10: Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 82,18, DZA 24.026.950.

61 *LGG* III 284a.

(6) *tkn*[62] *n*(*n*) *rḏi͗*(*.t*) *sꜣ=f*, “one who attacks without turning his back”. The word *tkn*, which in its transitive usage has the basic meaning “to approach” and can be used in the sense of approaching in a hostile manner,[63] is not attested as an action of the king until the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period when it occurs in royal names: in one of the “Two Ladies” names of Nectanebos II: *shr i͗b nṯr.w tkn ḫꜣs.wt*, “who satisfies the hearts of the gods and attacks the foreign lands”;[64] in one of the Horus names of Alexander III: *ḥḳꜣ nḫt tkn ḫꜣs.wt*, “Strong Ruler who attacks the foreign lands”,[65] and in the Horus name of Ptolemy VI: *dwn.ty tkn ḫry.w=f*, “the triumphant one, who attacks his enemies”.[66]

The phrase *n*(*n*) *rḏi͗*(*.t*) *sꜣ=f*, “without turning his back”, is found in the encomium on king Sesostris I in the *Tale of Sinuhe* (56–58): *ꜥḥꜥ i͗b pw m ꜣ.t sꜣsꜣ ꜥn pw n rḏi͗.n=f sꜣ=f*, “he is one upright of heart in the time of attack, he is one who counter attacks, who does not turn his back.” Like the previous phrase *mn ṯbw.ty*, “firm footed”, we also encounter it in the text of the stele of Sobek-khu, who recounts his bravery in battle: *ꜥḥꜥ.n sḫi͗.n=i͗ ꜥꜣm.w ꜥḥꜥ.n rḏi͗.n=i͗ i͗ṯi͗.tw ḫꜥ.w=f i͗n ꜥnḫ 2 n.y mšꜥ nn tši͗.t ḥr ꜥḥꜣ ḥr=i͗ ḥsꜣ*(*.w*) *n rḏi͗=i͗ sꜣ=i͗ n ꜥꜣm.w*, “Then I struck down an Asiatic. Then I caused that his equipment be taken by two men of the army without ceasing from fighting. My face was ferocious [and] I did not turn my back to an Asiatic”.[67]

62 Recently, the sign has at times been read as a separate word of unknown reading: Kaplony-Heckel in *TUAT* I p. 615 translates it as “der Zorniger”; Ritner “The Satrap Stele” as “the powerful”; Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, 69 leaves the question of the reading of the sign open. The interpretation of the translator of the *Wörterbuch* Zettel (DZA 31.152.110) is to be preferred. The unusual sign is noted, but not seen as a separate word, rather as part of *tkn*, which is translated “der sich in den Kampf stürzt”. This interpretation is also followed by Morenz, “Alte Hüte auf neuen Köpfen”, p. 117 who also discusses the metaphorical significance of the sign of the lion holding two sticks.

63 It can take a direct object (*WB* V, 334.7) or the object is introduced by a preposition (m *WB* V, 334.14; r *WB* V, 334.21).

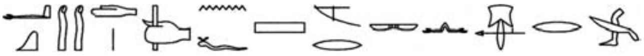
64 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 229, 3. N3.

65 Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 233, 1. H3.

66 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d’Edfou* I, 302; DZA 31.152.100.

67 Line 10, Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 83.12–14; DZA 28.869.340.

(7) *ỉfn ḥr n rḳy.w=f m ʿḥꜣ=sn*, "who faces up to[68] his opponents when they fight". This epithet is only attested here. The verb *ỉfn* is also of some interest. It is found in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* where it has the meaning "to turn around", but disappears from use for 2000 years to reappear in the Satrap stele. The only reference the WB (I, 70.13) gives for *ỉfn ḥr* is our example. For *ỉfn*, "sich umwenden", the references are all to the *Pyramid Texts*;[69] it is not listed in the standard Middle Egyptian dictionaries,[70] nor is it attested in Late Egyptian.[71]



(8) *ʿḳꜣ ḏr.t ḫfʿ n=f šmr.t n(n) sṯỉ(.t) r thỉ*, "precise of hand when he has grasped the bow, without shooting to fail". *ʿḳꜣ ḏr.t* is an unusual combination of adjective and noun. Usually, the adjective *ʿḳꜣ* is found as a predicate in adjectival sentences with abstract concepts such as *ỉb* or *ḥꜣ.ty*, "heart/thought/mind"; *ns*, "tongue/speech"; or *rꜣ*, "speech".[72] *šmr.t* is an interesting word. It first appears in the post-Amarna period. Its oldest known attestation is in the *Amduat* in the tomb of Sety I, where the sun god says to the gods who support him *ḫꜣḫ n ššr.w=ṯn spd n ʿbb.wt=ṯn pd n šmr.wt=tn*, "speed to your arrows, sharpness to your spears, tension to your bows".[73] Although the epithet with this precise wording is not attested in the known sources, the king as bearer of the *šmr.t* is. We encounter the word several times in descriptions of the king in the historical inscriptions of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. In an inscription recording the first Libyan war, he is *smn wnm.y pd šmr.t*, "enduring of arm, who strings and

68 Lit.: "who turns the face towards"; for the usage of the preposition *n* see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 164.1. Ritner's "The Satrap Stele" translation "who strikes the face" does not suit the basic meaning of *ỉfn* "to turn around".

69 The same applies to the references in Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* I.

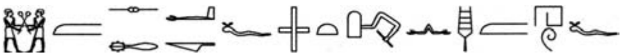
70 Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* II; Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*.

71 It is not in Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*.

72 Apart from the Satrap Stele, the only example I have found where it is used of part of body is in an epithet of Ptolemy IX from Edfu (DZA 22.029.190) where the subject is *rd.wy* "two feet": *ʿḳꜣ rd.wy m ꜣḫ.t nḥḥ*, "precise of feet in the 'horizon of eternity' (temple)", which presumably refers to correct behaviour in the performance of temple ritual.

73 *Amduat* 10th: Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 2 p. 175; DZA 30.119.730.

bears the bow".[74] On the inner face of the southern first pylon, he is *nꜥš gbꜣ.w pd ẖr šmr.t ptr=f ḥḥ.w n ḥr=f mỉ dfdf*, "strong of arm, who strings and bears the bow, he seeing millions before him like mist".[75] As in the Satrap stele, in this context we also encounter the king as bearer of the *šmr.t* who does not miss his target, although different vocabulary is used (*whỉ* rather than *thỉ*).[76] In a text on the southern colonnade at Medinet Habu, Ramesses III is *wr ḫpš.wy ḳn.yw pd šmr.t ỉ-dỉ=f šsr r s.t=f n whỉ.n=f*, "great of strong arms, who strings the bow; without it failing he sends the arrow to its place".[77] In texts relating to his Syrian wars, he is *nsw tnr* [///] *pd ẖr šmr.t šsr=f mḫꜣ n whỉ.n=f*, "the king, strong of [///] who strings and bears the bow, his burning arrow, it does not fail".[78] In the Graeco-Roman Period *šmr.t* is used to designate the bow that the king hands to the gods with which the king's enemies are then slain.[79]



(9) *ꜥḥꜣ m sẖꜥ=f ỉmỉ.tw ꜥḥꜣ n*(*n*) *ꜥḥꜥ m hꜣw=f*, "who fights with his sword in the midst of battle, there being none who can stand in his presence". The image of the king as a fighter in close combat is well attested, but, as with the previous epithet, some of the vocabulary of the Satrap Stele is new, in particular *sẖꜥ*, "sword, dagger", or similar, which is only attested here. The reading of the first word is uncertain, but clearly must refer to close combat.[80]

The second part of the image is well attested.[81] It appears in the Middle Kingdom *Tale of Sinuhe* (B55–56) in the encomium on king Sesostris I: *ỉꜥỉ-ḥr pw tšꜣ wp.wt n ꜥḥꜥ.n=tw m hꜣw=f*, "an avenger is he who smashes foreheads; one cannot stand up in his presence". In the Gebel Barkal stele of Thutmosis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the king is *ꜥḥꜣ.wty prỉ-ꜥ.w ḥr prỉ nn ꜥḥꜥ m hꜣw=f*, "an active fighter on the battlefield, there is none who can stand in his presence".[82] On

74 KRI V, 16.7.

75 KRI V, 58.5–6; DZA 30.119.800.

76 This is the only example of *sṯỉ r thỉ* in the WB Zettelarchiv (WB V, 319.15).

77 KRI V, 49.6; DZA 30.119.790.

78 KRI V, 82.12.

79 For examples from Edfu, see Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 1013.

80 Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques* lists the sign as A 433 and gives the readings *mn* and *ḫḫṯ*, but they do not give any meanings of the words, and they are not listed in the *WB*.

81 *WB* II, 477.7.

82 *Urk* IV, 1229. 17–18.

the Amada stele of his son, Amenhotep II, we find a slight variation: the king is *ḫꜥr mi ꜣby hb=f pri n wnt ꜥḥꜣ m hꜣw=f*, "one who rages like a leopard when he treads the battlefield, there is none who can fight in his presence".[83] Although not attested in an epithet of the king, on the Piankhy stele the king assures his army *ir ꜥḳ wꜥ im=tn ḥr sꜣ.w n(n) ꜥḥꜥ=tw m hꜣw=f*, "if one among you enters the defences, one will not stand in his presence".[84]

Interestingly, it is not attested in Ramesside texts, but we do find it in later Ptolemaic and Roman texts, used both of the king as well as of the god Horus, whom the king represents on earth. On a fragmentary stele of Ptolemy I or II occurs *n(n) [ꜥḥꜥ m hꜣ]w=f snḏ=f pḫr(.w) m tꜣ.w nb.w*, "there is none [who stands in his vic]inity, the fear of him circulates in all lands".[85] In an inscription of Ptolemy III on the propylon in front of the temple of Mont in Karnak, the kings is *šsm-ꜥ.w ḫrp ib smn ṯb.wty sḫ ḥr pri n(n) ꜥḥꜥ m hꜣw=f*, "strong of arm, self-controlled, firm-footed, who smites on the battlefield, there being none who can stand in his presence".[86] In an inscription from Edfu of the time of Ptolemy IV, the god Horus is *sti ššr r ḥꜥ.w ḫft.yw=f wr pḥ.ty iṯi m sḫm=f n ꜥḥꜥ=tw m hꜣw=f*, "one who shoots the arrow into the body of his enemies, great of strength who captures through his might; one cannot stand in his presence".[87] In an inscription from the mammisi at Edfu (reign of Ptolemy VI), it is said of Horus *mꜣ=sn s(w) m wr pḥ.ty n ꜥḥꜥ ḫft.yw=f m hꜣw=f*, "they see him as one great of strength, his enemies not being able to stand in his presence".[88] On the obelisk of Pamphilius, Domitian is *ṯmꜣ ꜥ.wwy sḫr ḫft.yw nḫt ꜥ.w iri m ꜥ.w=f n ꜥḥꜥ=tw m hꜣw=f*, "strong of arms, who fells the foe, powerful of arm who acts with his arm, one not having stood in his presence".[89]

(10) *pri ꜥ.w*, "active". This is the most frequently attested epithet of the king. Its earliest attestation is again in the *Tale of Sinuhe* (B51–52) *nḫt pw grt iri m*

83 *Urk* IV, 1290.7–10.

84 *Urk* III,34.4.

85 Berlin ÄM 14400; *Urk* II, 22.8.

86 *Urk* VIII, 15.20–21.

87 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 150; DZA 26.324.280.

88 Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, 55; DZA 26.324.320.

89 DZA 26.324.310; Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* I, 76–92; Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, No. 72, fig. 86; Grenier, "Les inscriptions hiérogliphiques de l'obélisque Pamphili", 941.

ḫpš=f pri-ʿ.w nn twt n=f, “he is indeed a warrior who acts with his strong arm, an active one, there not being his like”. In the Eighteenth Dynasty, we find the term used of Amenhotep II (Sphinx stele) where he has the epithet *pri-ʿ.w mi Mnṯ.w*, “energetic like Mont”.[90] In an inscription from the divine birth narrative in the temple of Luxor, Amenhotep III is *nṯr nfr mi.ty Rʿ.w iti.y nḫt pri-ʿ.w*, “the perfect god, the likeness of Re; the powerful ruler, active”.[91]

It is often encountered in the Ramesside period, very frequently in texts of Seti I, for example in one accompanying the battle with Libyans on the outer northern wall of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak: *kfʿ ḥr ḫ3s.t nb pri-ʿ.w iw.ty sn.nw=f*, “who makes captives in every foreign land, active, without his second”.[92] The importance Seti placed on the need for the king to be active is reflected in one of his inscriptions at Kanais (Redesiyeh) where he makes the general statement *sbḳ wsḫ t3 nsw m pri-ʿ.w*, “fortunate and spacious is the land when the king is active”.[93]

His successors seem to have taken this to heart, since they regularly use the epithet: of Ramesses II, for example, we read *ist ḥm=f m nb rnpi pri-ʿ.w iw.ty sn.nw=f*, “Now His Majesty was a youthful lord, active, without his second”.[94] The DZA has nine attestations from the war reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.[95]

It is also well-attested in later Graeco-Roman inscriptions,[96] again of the king as well as of the god. For example, on the Berlin stele fragment of an early Ptolemy (I or II): *pri-ʿ.w iw.ty mi.ty=f Mnṯ.w pw m ḥʿ.w=f*, “active, without his equal; he is Mont in person”;[97] as an epithet of Ptolemy Philadelphus on the Mendes stele: *nsw nḫt sḫm pḥ.ty pri-ʿ.w iṯi m sḫm=f*, “strong king, mighty of strength, active, who seizes through his might”;[98] as an epithet of Ptolemy IV in Edfu: the king is *snn n.y Ḥr.w ššp n.y Bḥd.ty pri-ʿ.w ḳn twt sw r ḳm3 sw*, “the likeness of Horus, the image of Behedety, active, strong, he is like the one who created him”.[99]

90 *Urk* IV, 1281.7.

91 DZA 21.509.110.

92 *KRI* I, 21.2–3; further examples: *KRI* I, 12,1; 17,3; 24,11; 42,13; 77,9; 80,8; 102,10; 111,14.

93 *KRI* I,66.14.

94 *KRI* II, 5 § 7; compare also DZA 21.509.250 Luxor; *KRI* II, 206,6; 284,16 (*pri-ʿ.w m swḥ.t*); 291,1.

95 DZA 21.509.150, DZA 21.509.160, DZA 21.509.170, DZA 21.509.190, DZA 21.509.200, DZA 21.509.210, DZA 21.509.230, DZA 21.509.240; DZA 21.509.720.

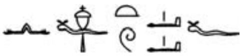
96 See Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 357.

97 Berlin ÄM 14400; *Urk* II, 22.12–13.

98 *Urk* II, 35.4–5.

99 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 28.11, DZA 21.509.130. The *WB* Zettelarchiv has five

The term is also well-attested in the Graeco-Roman temples, as an epithet of the god Horus. For example, at Edfu, Horus is *smꜣ ḫꜣs.wt nṯr ꜥꜣ … pri-ꜥ.w ptpt Ỉwn.tyw ḫbỉ Ḫꜣrw sḫr sṯ.tyw*, "the one who slaughters the foreign lands, the great god … active, who treads down the bowmen, who destroys the Syrians and cast down the Asiatics".[100]



(11) *n ḫsf.tw ꜥ.wwy=f*, "a champion whose arms are not repulsed". This is a well attested epithet of the king in the New Kingdom. Amenhotep II: *ỉrỉ=f tꜣš=f r mrr=f nn ḫsf ꜥ.w=f*, "… he making his border as he desires, there being no repelling of his arm".[101] Amenhotep III: *spd ꜥb.wy nn ḫsf ꜥ.w=f m tꜣ.w nb.w*, "sharp-horned, there is no repulsing his arms in all lands".[102] Seti I: *ỉrỉ tꜣš.w=f r ḏḏ ḥr=f n ḫsf ꜥ.w=f m tꜣ.w nb.w*, "who sets his borders to where he turns his head; whose arm is not repulsed in all the foreign lands".[103] Ramesses II: *ỉrỉ tꜣš.w=f r ḏḏ ḥr=f n ḫsf ꜥ.w=f m tꜣ.w nb.w*, "who sets his borders to where he turns his head; whose arm is not repulsed in all the foreign lands".[104] Ramesses III: *nn ḫsf=tw ꜥ.w=k mỉ ỉrỉ.n=k mn.ww m Ỉp.t-s.wt n ỉt=k Ỉmn.w*, "your arm will not be repulsed in as much as you have made monuments in Karnak for your father Amun".[105] Ramesses IX: *ỉw Ỉmn.w m sꜣ.w ḥꜥ.w=*[*k*] *psḏ.t=f ḥr dr ḫft.yw=k ḫꜣs.t nb.t ẖr ṯb.wty=k*

further attestations from Edfu, Dendera, and Philae: Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 270.8, DZA 21.509.390; 309.17, DZA 21.509.410; Mariette, *Dendera* II 73/6, DZA 21.509.450; Philae: DZA 21.509.680; DZA 21.509.690.

100 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 125.10 = DZA 21.509.330; there are four further examples from Edfu and Dendera: Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 65.4 = DZA 21.509.340; Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 277.6 = DZA 21.509.420; Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 14, 13–14 = DZA 21.509.430; Mariette, *Dendera* III, 73 = DZA 21.509.440.

101 Amada stele, *Urk* IV, 1298 9; DZA 21.521.840.

102 Luxor architrave, DZA 21.521.850.

103 War reliefs of Seti I, Karnak, DZA 21.521.830.

104 Karnak war reliefs, *KRI* II, 166.7; DZA 21.521.750. Further examples are listed in Meeks, *Annee Lexicographique* III, 224: *KRI* II, 148.15; 168.16; 242.8; 415.13; 445.13; 468.16; 575.9. Karnak architrave text, DZA 21.521.760.

105 Karnak station temple in chapel of Khons, DZA 21.521.730. See also DZA 21.521.770, a speech of Amun, Karnak temple; DZA 21.521.780, war reliefs from the temple of Amun, Karnak; DZA 21.521.790, DZA 21.521.810, and DZA 21.521.800 from the Karnak temple of Ramesses III.

n ẖsf.tw ꜥ.w=[*k*], “Amun is the protection of your limbs, his ennead drives off your enemies, every foreign land is under your feet, your arm not being repulsed”.[106]

(12) *n*(*n*) *ꜥn m prỉ m rꜣ=f*, “there is no reversal of what issues from his mouth”. This phrase stressing the authority of Ptolemy’s commands is not attested in the repertoire of earlier royal phraseology, but the irreversibility of the command of god is encountered on a stele of Ramesses IV at Karnak: *Ỉtm.w ḏd=f m ḫr.tw ḥr-ꜥ.w nn ꜥn.tw wḏ mỉ ḏd.n=f*, “Atum saying as an oracle immediately ‘the decree will not be reversed, according to what he has said’ ”.[107] In a prayer to the gods on behalf of the king on a stele now in Berlin (ÄM 2081), the petitioner expresses his certainty that the gods will help: *nm ꜥn sḫr.w=tn ntn nꜣ nb.w n.y p.t tꜣ dꜣ.t ỉ-ỉr=tw m pꜣ ỉ-ḏd=tn*, “Who will reverse your counsel? You are the lords of heaven, earth, and netherworld; it is that which you say that one does.”[108] It is a quality often attributed to the gods in Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions.[109] The Satrap Stele seems to be the first attestation of this quality being attributed to the king. In an inscription at Edfu, it is a gift that Horus grants Ptolemy IV: *ḏỉ.n=*(*ỉ*) *n=k mꜣꜥ.t m ỉb=k … n ꜥn n prỉ*(*.t*) *m rꜣ=k*, “I have placed truth in your heart … there is no reversal of that which issues from your mouth”.[110]

(13) *ỉwty mỉ.tyt=f m tꜣ.wy ḫꜣs.wt*, “who has no equal in the Two Lands or the foreign countries”. *ỉwty mỉ.ty=f* is a well-attested expression[111] and is one that is found in the phraseology of non-royal texts from the Middle Kingdom[112] and

106 Karnak relief of the High Priest of Amun, Amenhotep, KRI VI, 540.10 f., DZA 21.521.900. See also KRI VI, 550.5 f.

107 KRI VI, 5.4–5. See also Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 18, where the verb *ẖsf* is used in place of *ꜥn*.

108 DZA 21.725.620; Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften* II, 188–189, line 9. KRI VI, 440.4–5.

109 Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 106–107.

110 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d’Edfou* I, 56.4–5; Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 65–66.

111 *WB* II, 39.9.

112 Hatnub 16,3; Anthes *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, 36, DZA 23.881.030. Hatnub 23,3; Anthes *Felsinschriften von Hatnub*, 52, DZA 23.881.040. Siut I, 349–350; Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 9, DZA 23.881.070.

the New Kingdom,[113] as well as royal texts.[114] It is also attested used of the king in Ptolemaic texts. In an inscription that can probably be attributed to Ptolemy when he became king, he is *prỉ ꜥ.w ỉw.ty mỉ.ty=f Mnt.w pw m ḥꜥ.w=f*, "active, without his equal; he is Mont [god of war] in person".[115] In an inscription of Ptolemy III on the propylon in front of the temple of Mont in Karnak, the king is *nḏ.ty ỉwty mỉ.tyt=f swsḫ Km.t sḫwn ḫꜣs.wt*, "a protector without his equal who expands Egypt and reduces the foreign lands".[116]

3 Royal Phraseology in the Main Text

Although there is a concentration of royal phraseology at the beginning of the text, which may well have been intended to balance the titulary of Alexander IV with which the inscription begins, we also find interesting examples of royal phraseology in the following narrative sections in which the satrap's achievements are recounted. The first is found in line 5, in the section that deals with his Syrian campaign. In the account of his offensive, an image is used that is attested in royal inscriptions of the Ramesside period.[117] In the Satrap Stele it is said of Ptolemy:

(14) *ꜥḳ=f m-ẖnw=sn ỉb=f sḫm mỉ ḏr.t m-ḫt šfn.w*, "he entered among them [the enemy], his heart powerful, like a bird of prey after small birds".[118] The word *šfn* in the Satrap Stele is probably identical with the earlier *šf* that also designates small birds. It is only attested twice and in both cases it appears in similes in royal texts that also describe the warlike activity of the king, using the image of a bird of prey hunting small birds.

113 Text of prince Amunhirkhopeshef, *KRI* II, 510.10, DZA 23.881.150.

114 Ramesses II, battle of Kadesh, *KRI* II, 6.11, DZA 23.881.130; *KRI* II, 76.8, DZA 23.881.140.

115 *Urk* II, 22.12.

116 *Urk* VIII, 15.20–21.

117 Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, 105–106, discusses the identity of the *šfn.w*-birds, but not the precursors of the bird metaphors that can be found in pharaonic royal phraseology.

118 *Urk* II 15, 6–8.

In a text that accompanies war reliefs of Ramesses II in Karnak, the king is one who:[119]

> *smꜣ tꜣ.w ḫꜣs.wt bšṯ.w ḥdb(.w) ḥr snf=sn mi [n.ty] n ḫpr ini(.w) wr.w=sn m sḳr ꜥnḫ mi bik ḥḳꜣ.n=f tꜣ.wy wr.w=sn ꜥrf(.w) m ḫfꜥ=f mi bik ḥpt.n=f šf.w*
>
> … slays the flat lands and the hill countries, the rebels cast down in their blood like that which does not exist; their chief having been brought as captives like a falcon after he has ruled the Two Lands; their chiefs enclosed in his grasp like a falcon when he has grasped sparrows …

In the year 11 inscription of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu the king is described as follows:[120]

> *sw mi Bꜥl m ꜣ.t nšny=f mi bik m ḫp.w šf.w tnr ḥr ḥtr kfꜥ ḥr rd.wy=f ḫfꜥ.n=f wr.w m ꜥ.wy=f*
>
> He is like Baal at the moment of his fury, like a falcon among small birds and sparrows, strong on the chariot, who seizes on his two feet, he having grasped the chiefs with his hands.

As has often been remarked, the literary genre of the main part of the text, which deals with the restoration to the temples of Buto of the property that had been taken from them, is that of a particular type of royal composition which Egyptologists refer to as the *Königsnovelle* or "royal novelette".[121] These texts have a typical structure which, in brief, runs as follows: the king is going about his royal business, his officials attending on him. He is told of a problem that needs to be dealt with. He confers with his officials, decides on a course of action, and gives orders for it to be carried out. His commands are executed, his plans succeed, everyone rejoices, praising the king. The opening of this section of the text, at the beginning of line 7, also contains another typical example of royal phraseology:

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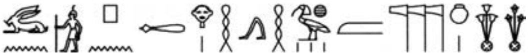
119 KRI II, 153.9–10 = DZA 30.049.270. In place of [*n.ty*] KRI II, 153.9 restores *mw*.

120 KRI V, 44.6–9 = DZA 30.049.260. For further pharaonic falcon imagery used of the king's horses (where the small birds are, however, not designated as *šf*), see Gillen, "'His horses are like falcons': War imagery in Ramesside Texts".

121 See Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel'".



(15) *wn wr pn ꜥꜣ ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w {m}⟨n⟩ nṯr.w n.w Šmꜥ.w Mḥ.w*, “This great chief was seeking what is beneficial for the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt”. We encounter here the classic formulation *ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w*, “seeking what is beneficial”, to describe one of the core functions of the king, namely to care for the needs of the gods.[122] It is well attested in New Kingdom royal inscriptions, for example, in an inscription of Amenhotep III in which he refers to the construction of his funerary temple in western Thebes: *iri.n ḥm=i n ḥn.ty ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.wt n it=i Imn.w*, “My Majesty acted for eternity, seeking what is useful for my father Amun”.[123] In a text of Sety I from East Silsileh, we have the formulation that is more typical for the *Königsnovelle*: *ist ḥm=f ꜥnḫ.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w m niw.t rsy.t ḥr iri.t ḥsi.y sw it=f Imn.w-Rꜥ.w nsw nṯr.w sḏr rs tp ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w n nṯr.w nb.w Tꜣ-mri*, “Now His Majesty, may he live be prosperous and healthy, was in the southern city doing that for which his father Amun-Re King of the Gods would praise him, spending the night awake seeking what is beneficial for all the gods of Egypt”.[124] From the reign of Taharka (Twenty-fifth Dynasty): *isk [r]=f ḥm=f mrr nṯr pw wrš=f m [rꜥ.w s]ḏr=f [m] grḥ ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.wt n nṯr.w*, “Now His Majesty, he is one who loves god, he being watchful by day and waking at night seeking what is beneficial for the gods”.[125] In line 3 of the Tanis stele of Psametik II, we have a similar formulation: *is[k r=f ḥm]=f mrr nṯr pw r iḫ.t nb.t wnn=f ḥr iri(.t) ꜣḫ.w(t) /// smnḫ.t ḥw.t=sn wꜣi r mrḥ sḏfꜣ … [=s]n ḥr swꜣḏ wḏḥ[.w=s]n(?)*, “Now His Majesty, he is one who loves god more than anything, he doing what is beneficial /// restoring their temples which had fallen into ruin, provisioning their […] causing their offering tables(?) to flourish”.[126] Closer to the time of Ptolemy, on the shrine of Nectanebos I from Saft el Henneh, the monument is described as *iri.tn ḥm=f ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w(t) n it.w=f*, “that which His Majesty did in seeking what is beneficial for

122 *WB* III, 151.17–18.

123 *Urk* IV, 1673.2 = DZA 27.270.030.

124 *KRI* I, 60.8–9. Another example, preserved in four versions (from the reigns of Sety I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, Ramesses III), is *KRI* I, 87.13–88.4. For examples in inscriptions of Ramesses II, see *KRI* II. 183.12; 515.5; 535.11; 604.9. For an example from an inscription of Ramesses III, see *KRI* V, 291.2–3 where instead of *ꜣḫ.w*, “what is useful”, the object of the king’s seeking is *sp.w mnḫ.w*, “effective deeds”; compare *WB* III, 152.2.

125 The text is attested on several monuments of the king, a stele from Upper Egypt and one from Kawa; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, 122, 5–7; 136, 2–3.

126 Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 367–368 and pl. 18. For the continuation of the text with a statement concerning the rewarding of the king for his actions, see below.

his fathers [the gods]",[127] and on the Naucratis stele of Nectanebos II the king is said to be one *rs ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w(t) m ḥm.w=sn*, "who wakes seeking what is useful for their [the gods'] shrines".[128] The tradition continues in the Ptolemaic period. In an inscription at Edfu, Ptolemy IV is *nṯr nfr nḏ.ty nṯr.w rs ḥr ḥḥi ꜣḫ.w(t)=sn*, "the good god, protector of the gods, watchful in seeking what is useful for them".[129]

The next example of typical royal phraseology in this section of the text is found in lines 17–18, where Ptolemy is said to be rewarded by the gods of Buto for confirming the donation made to them by the earlier native pharaoh Chababash:

(17–18) *isw n nn iri.n=f di(.w) n=f ḳn nḫt m nḏm-ib iw snḏ=f m-ḫt ḫꜣs.wt mi ḳd=sn*, "The reward for this, which he did: might and victory in joy was given him, the fear of him being throughout the foreign lands in their entirety".[130] Parallels for the king being rewarded for his actions for the gods are also attested in the pharaonic period, for example from the reign of Seti I: *isw iry ḥḥ m rnp.wt nḥḥ ḏ.t m ḥꜣb.w-sd, ꜣwi ib=f ḥr s.t Ḥr.w mi Rꜥ.w nb*, "the reward thereof [in this case, making a statue]: a million in years, eternity and everlastingness in festivals of renewal, joy upon the throne of Horus like Re daily."[131] In a speech of Amun from a section of the Khons temple in Karnak that was decorated under Pinodjem (Twenty-first Dynasty), the god recounts the benefactions done for him and concludes: *isw ir.y m ꜥnḫ wꜣs n.y Ḥr.w mꜣꜥ ḫrw*, "The reward thereof is the life and dominion of Horus, justified".[132] On a shrine of Taharka from the temple of Kawa (Twenty-fifth Dynasty): *isw m nn iri.n=f m rdi.t n=f ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb snb nb ꜣw.t ib nb ḫꜥi(.w) ḥr s.t Ḥr.w mi Rꜥ.w*, "The reward for this which he did is the giving to him of all life, stability and dominion, all joy, having appeared upon the throne of Horus like Re".[133] In the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, from the reign of Psametik I, we encounter the concept in line 14 of the Adoption Stele of Nitokris: *isw nn ḫr Imn.w kꜣ p.ty=f Mnṯ.w nb ns.(w)t tꜣ.wy m ꜥnḫ ḥḥ ḏd ḥḥ wꜣs*

127 CGC 70021; Roeder, *Naos*; DZA 27.270.040.
128 Line 5; hieroglyphic text: Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, pl. 25, DZA 27.270.130.
129 Rochemonteix, *Le temple d'Edfou* I, 140 = DZA 27.270.190.
130 *Urk* II, 21.7–9.
131 *KRI* I, 108.8–9.
132 Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* I, 11.2.
133 The inscription appears twice on the shrine; Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* III, 152,18–19 and 154,2–3.

ḥḥ snb ꜣw.t ib nb, "The reward of this from Amun, Bull of his two heavens, and Montu lord of the throne(s) of the Two Lands was millions of life, millions of stability, millions of dominion, all health and joy".[134] In line 4 of the Tanis stele of Psametik II, following on from the description of his benefactions (for the text see above): *iri(.w)*[135] *n=f isw m* [*ḳ*]*n nḫt*, "A reward of strength and might was made for him".[136] In the Thirtieth Dynasty, on the shrine of Saft el Henneh of Nectanebos I, three texts refer to the king's reward for his works for the gods: *isw ir.y nn ḫr sꜣ=sn mri.y=sn rdi.t n=f iꜣw.t n(.t) Rꜥ.w*, "the reward thereof [for] this for their beloved son [is] the giving to him of the office of Re [i.e. the kingship]"; *isw ir.y m nsy.t ꜥꜣ.t ḫꜣs.wt nb(.wt) ẖr ṯbw.ty=f ꜥnḫ mi Rꜥ.w ḏ.t*, "the reward thereof being a great kingship, all foreign lands under his feet, like Re forever";[137] and *iri=tn n=f isw ir.y m ḥḳꜣ tꜣ.wy*, "they [the gods] will grant him the reward thereof [i.e. supplying the altars of the gods and granting them fields to provision them], namely the rulership of the two lands".[138] Again, this phraseology is also found in Ptolemaic temple inscriptions: a procession of deities address the moon god (Khons) saying *mi m ḥtp ḫni=k ꜣḫ.t=k mꜣ=k nn iri n=k sꜣ.wy=k di=k n=w isw m rdi(.t?)=sn m nsy.t n(.t) Rꜥ.w ḥnꜥ ꜣḫ.t=f*, "Come in peace that you may alight on your horizon and see this, which your two children (Ptolemy III and Berenike) have done for you. May you grant them the reward for their gift(?), namely the kingship of Re and his uraeus."[139]

4 The Nature of the Usage of Early Literary Traditions

The text betrays a high degree of literary competence on the part of the scribe (or scribes) who composed it. He (or they) were clearly well versed in the traditional phraseology of royal texts, but although the text is heavily influenced by earlier literary traditions, it is clear that its composer(s) did not slavishly follow them. On the contrary, they were quite creative; as we have seen, there is hardly a single case where we can point to an adoption verbatim of earlier phraseology.

134 Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 310 and pl. 13.

135 I would see in this a Perfect Passive *sḏm=f* form, as in the Satrap Stele, rather than a *sḏm.n=f* as in Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 369 n. 270.

136 Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 368 and pl. 18.

137 CGC 70021; Roeder, *Naos*, DZA 21.300.950, DZA 21.300.970, and DZA 21.301.830.

138 *KRI* I, 210.13. Examples from texts of Ramesses II: *KRI* II, 323.10; 512.10; 635.14; 742.6.

139 On the propylon in front of the Khons temple, Karnak, *Urk* VIII, 45.11–13. Further examples: Philae, DZA 21.299.990 (Euergetes II); Edfu, DZA 21.300.030 (Ptolemy IX); Kom Ombo, DZA 21.300.080.

The last two examples of phraseology discussed, (15) and (16), are relatively well attested in royal inscriptions from the New Kingdom onward (although there is a gap between the Twenty-first and the Twenty-fifth Dynasties). Of the epithets in lines 2 and 3, apart from (2) *ꜣḫ sḥ*, "effective of counsel", which also appears in texts of Psametik II and Darius I (Twenty-sixth and Twenty-Seventh Dynasties, see above), the only ones attested post New Kingdom occur in inscriptions of the Thirtieth Dynasty kings Nectanebos I and II: in addition to (2) *ꜣḫ sḥ*, "effective of counsel", we also find (4) *wmt ỉb*, "stout-hearted", and the word *tkn*, "one who attacks", that is part of (6). This cannot only be the result of the relative dearth of extensive royal texts from the post-New Kingdom period in which one might expect to find them. There are none in the very long text of the triumphal stele of Piankhy, for example, or in the longer royal inscriptions of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Nubian rulers, even though some of their inscriptions, in particular Piankhy's triumphal stele, contain many allusions to classical texts; nor in the royal inscriptions of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[140]

Of particular interest is that some of the closest parallels are to be found not in royal texts, but in literary works of the Middle Kingdom.[141] In the *Prophecy of Neferty*, the sage is described as *nḏs pw ḳn gbꜣ=f sš pw ỉḳr ḏbꜥ.w=f*, "he is a citizen, strong in respect of his arm; he is a scribe, excellent in respect of his fingers", a formulation that closely resembles phrase (1) of the Satrap Stele, *sỉ rnpỉ ḳn m gbꜣ=f*, "A youthful man, strong of arm".

It is also noticeable that there are parallels and close echoes of phrases that are found in the encomium on king Sesostris I in the classic Middle Egyptian *Tale of Sinuhe*:

Satrap Stele	**Sinuhe**
wmt ỉb, "stout hearted"	*wmt ỉb pw mꜣꜣ=f ꜥšꜣ.t*, "he is stout-hearted when he sees the multitude" (B58–61)

140 See Grimal, "Bibliothèques et propaganda royale à l'époque Éthiopienne"; Jasnow, "Remarks on Continuity in Egyptian Literary Tradition".

141 These parallels have also been noted by Morenz, "Alte Hüte auf neuen Köpfen", which came to my attention after the presentation of this paper in September 2011 (see n. 1).

Satrap Stele	Sinuhe
tkn n(n) rḏi(.t) sꜣ=f, "one who attacks without turning his back"	*ꜥḥꜥ ib pw m ꜣ.t sꜣsꜣ ꜥn pw n rḏi.n=f sꜣ=f*, "he is one upright of heart in the time of attack, he is one who counter attacks, he not turning his back." (B56–58)
ꜥḥꜣ m sḫꜥ=f imi.tw ꜥḥꜣ n(n) ꜥḥꜥ m hꜣw=f, "who fights with his sword in the midst of battle, there being none who can stand in his presence"	*iꜥi-ḥr pw tšꜣ wp.wt n ꜥḥꜥ.n=tw m hꜣw=f*, "an avenger is he who smashes foreheads, one not standing up in his presence" (B55–56)
pri ꜥ.w, "active"	*nḫt pw grt iri m ḫpš=f pri-ꜥ.w nn twt n=f*, "he is indeed a warrior who acts with his strong arm, an active one, there not being his like" (B51–52)

It is unlikely that all of this is simply coincidental; rather, we can draw several conclusions from the data. One can argue that it points to the institutional memory of the scribal class. The scribes of the Late Period must have been familiar with the Middle Kingdom literary compositions, and the literary parallels are an interesting indicator of the sorts of texts that were being read and the level of scribal education.[142] Yet, in the Satrap Stele we encounter cultural continuity not just with Middle Kingdom literary compositions. As the parallels illustrate, there is also continuity with the royal phraseology of the New King-

142 On the range of texts available to scribes in the Late Period and their use of earlier literary texts in their compositions see Grimal, "Bibliothèques et propaganda royale à l'époque Éthiopienne", 41–48; Eyre "Is historical literature 'political' or 'literary'?" 429; and Jasnow, "Remarks on Continuity in Egyptian Literary Tradition". The use of a rare archaic word such as *ifn* in (7), a word otherwise only attested in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, may also be an indicator of the erudition of the scribe, as is the creative way in which they used the older material—rather than direct quotation we encounter subtle echoes and allusions to the earlier works. Becker, *Identität und Krise*, 98–113 discusses the use of earlier textual sources in inscriptions of the Twenty-second Dynasty. On the use of old texts in ancient Egypt in general, see Osing, "Alte Schriften".

dom. Some of the examples of this, namely (15) and (16), are quite well attested in the period between the end of the New Kingdom and Thirtieth Dynasty; others, (2), (4) and (6), are less often encountered. Some, (8), (11) and (14), are otherwise only found in New Kingdom royal inscriptions.

This raises the question of how this institutional memory was preserved and transmitted. In the case of the literary texts, it is well known that they were utilized in the scribal schools.[143] Less often mentioned is that, in the Ramesside Period at least, texts whose subject is the king, and which provided examples of royal phraseology, were also amongst the material used in schools. Several appear in the so-called *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*: a text that praises Ramesses II as a warrior;[144] texts in praise of King Merenptah;[145] a model letter of adulation to pharaoh;[146] a text in praise of Merenptah and his residence;[147] and royal titularies.[148] Even though we do not have concrete examples, it is possible that texts of this kind were used in scribal education in later times as well. There may well have been papyrus copies of royal inscriptions available to scribes, as is the situation in the Nineteenth Dynasty with the record of Ramesses II's battle of Kadesh; although this may be a special case, influenced by that king's particular interest in publicizing the event. As for the question of what motivated the copyists of the Kadesh text, Eyre thinks the king's wish to publicize the event is more likely than the idea that it reflects the literary interests of the copyists.[149] In the case of the much earlier Carnarvon Tablet (early New Kingdom), with its copy of part of the text of the first stele of Kamose, Gardiner suggested that the motive for making the copy was a literary one, since the reverse of the tablet bears a literary text, a copy of the beginning of the

143 For an outline of what was taught in the schools, see Fischer-Elfert "Education".

144 pAnastasi II 2,5–3,6: Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 13; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 40.

145 pAnastasi II 3,6–5,4: Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 14–15; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 43–44. pSallier I 8,7–9,1; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 86–87; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 323–325.

146 pAnastasi II 5,6–6,4; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 15–16; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 48–50. Another copy of the text is in pAnastasi IV 5,6–5,12; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 40; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 153.

147 pAnastasi III 7,2–7,10; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 28–29; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 101–103.

148 pSallier IV vs. 16,3–17,4; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 97–98; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 367–368. Leiden 348 vs. 4,1–5,6; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 132–133; transl. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 489–491.

149 Eyre "Is historical literature 'political' or 'literary'?" 427.

Teaching of Ptahhotep.[150] However, here too the motives may have been closer to those of the copyists of the Kadesh record, reflecting the warrior ethos of the time, and the extract from Ptahhotep may be an indication that the origin of the tablet should be sought in a school context. As Eyre suggests in the case of the Kadesh record, it does seem less likely that scribes copied historical inscriptions directly from temple walls, although this cannot be completely ruled out.[151] Whatever the nature of the transmission, it is clear that the author of the Satrap Stele did not simply copy the older phraseology, as is illustrated, for example, by (14) where the image of the bird of prey attacking smaller birds is used, but the wording is quite different from the Twentieth Dynasty precursors.

5 The Perception of Ptolemy by the Egyptian Priests at Sais

The allusion to the *Prophecy of Neferty* may well have a deeper significance than simply reflecting the education of the author of the Satrap Stele and his admiration for the literary quality of the classic works. Morenz proposes that there is a deliberate intention to present Ptolemy as filling the role of Ameny,[152] the king who Neferty foretold would come from the south and deliver Egypt from its misfortunes.[153] One could go further and suggest that the echoes of the royal phraseology in Sinuhe's hymn to Sesostris I, Amenemhet's son and successor, were aimed at drawing a parallel between Sesostris and Ptolemy—just as Sesostris as crown prince led the army of Egypt while his father Amenemhet "was in the palace", so too did Ptolemy, while king Alexander IV was "amongst the Asiatics".

Almost all the phraseology applied to Ptolemy is typical of that used in royal inscriptions[154] and there can be no doubt that on the Satrap Stele, although he does not have the official, legal position of king, Ptolemy is primarily spoken of in royal terms. The text is replete with traditional Egyptian royal phraseology

150 Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse" 109.

151 Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse", thinks it quite plausible that the text of the tablet is a direct copy from a stele.

152 I.e. Amenemhet I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty.

153 Morenz, "Alte Hüte auf neuen Köpfen", 124.

154 The only non-royal example is the Middle Kingdom expression *mn ṯbw.ty*, "firm footed", which is used of the gods in the Ptolemaic temple texts. 5 of the epithets (1, 2, 5, 6 and 13) are applied to both the king and officials.

that can be traced back to earlier royal inscriptions. As we have seen, many of the epithets are also to be found applied to the king in later Ptolemaic, and in some cases Roman, inscriptions. Thus, it seems fair to conclude that as far as the authors of the text were concerned, although Ptolemy may not have been king *de jure*, he certainly was *de facto*.

As mentioned in the introduction, the term most commonly used to designate Ptolemy is "great chief". There has been some controversy over the question of whether the term *ḥm=f*, "His Majesty", is ever applied to him in the section of the text that records Ptolemy's reconfirmation of title to property that had been granted to the gods of Buto by Chababash and subsequently confiscated by the Persian "Xerxes".[155] The crucial question revolves around the identity of the person referred to as *ḥm=f* in lines 8–12. The first editor of the text, Brugsch,[156] understood the term to refer to Ptolemy. However, the subsequent reading of Wilcken,[157] who interpreted it as referring to Chababash, has enjoyed greater support and is also followed by Schäfer in her latest study on the stele.[158] In his translation of the text, Ritner, with some hesitation, again took up Brugsch's interpretation and saw *ḥm=f* as referring to Ptolemy.[159] The only argument that Schäfer musters against Ritner's view is that it is not clear why "the priests"[160] speak of the territory having "formerly" (*tp ꜥ.w*) belonged to the gods of Buto if it had only been given to them shortly before the Persian king confiscated it. However, the adverb "formerly" need not refer to a time before Chababash: it could simply refer to the time before Ptolemy, i.e. before the time in which the conversation took place. The sequence of events could be reconstructed as follows: Ptolemy was looking for benefactions that he could bestow on the gods of Egypt, his entourage brought up the subject of "the land of Edjo" that Chababash had given to the gods of Buto; Ptolemy asks for more information from his entourage and they repeat that the land had formerly belonged to the gods of Buto and go on to relate how the Persian king had revoked the grant that Chababash had made.[161] Ptolemy then asks that the priests of Pe and Dep

155 On the identity of *Ḫšryš*(ꜣ), see Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš*(ꜣ): His Name and Deeds according to the Satrap Stela" 98–101, who convincingly argues that he should be identified with Artaxerxes III.

156 Brugsch "Ein Decret Ptolemaios' des Sohnes Lagi, des Satrapen".

157 Wilcken, "Zur Satrapenstele".

158 Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, 145 note j.

159 See his commentary in note 9 to his translation.

160 In fact, it is not the priests who say this but "those who were beside him [His Majesty]", i.e. the royal entourage; the priests are not summonsed until a little further on in line 9.

161 Ladynin, "Adversary *Ḫšryš*(ꜣ): His Name and Deeds according to the Satrap Stela" 103–108,

be brought to provide further information, specifically about the consequences of this action by the Persian. On hearing of the punishment meted out on the Persian by the god Horus, Ptolemy expresses the wish "to be placed on the path of" the god (who is also referred to as "His Majesty"), i.e. he wishes to submit and be loyal to the god, at which the priests advise him to donate the property to the gods "a second time" (i.e. after the first time of Chababash), which Ptolemy proceeds to do.

For Schäfer, another hurdle to accepting a scenario in which Ptolemy is referred to as "His Majesty" is that the Egyptian priests would never have dared to jeopardize good order by bestowing the title of *ḥm=f* "His Majesty" on anyone other than the legitimate king.[162] Yet, later in the text, in line 17, the title *ḥḳꜣ ꜥꜣ n.y Km.t*, "great ruler of Egypt" is unambiguously used for Ptolemy, a title that, as Schäfer herself points out,[163] is clearly royal.

I would suggest that the way in which Ptolemy is referred to is intentional. He is only spoken of as "His Majesty" in that part of the text that deals specifically with the decision-making process concerning the return of the property of the gods and their temples. The ancient Egyptian priests who composed the text had very sound reasons for doing this. According to the Egyptian ideology of kingship, it was only the king who could regulate the affairs of the gods; he was the only intermediary between them and humankind; he built their temples and he provided them with offerings. His duties are encapsulated in the words of an inscription in the temple of Amun at Luxor that dates from the reign of Amenhotep III (Eighteenth Dynasty), but which may have its origins in the Middle Kingdom: "Re has placed King NN in the land of the living for eternity and all time; for judging men, for making the gods content, for creating Truth, for destroying evil. He gives offerings to the gods, and invocation offerings to the blessed spirits."[164]

Here, the duty of the king to care for the gods is clearly expressed. The words of Amun to the gods in the New Kingdom version of the myth of the birth of the divine king also emphasize this aspect of the duties of the king. Amun explains to the council of gods the benefits that the new king that he will engender will bring: "she[165] will build your sanctuaries, she will dedicate your temples, /// [she

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sees the confiscation by Artaxerxes III of temple lands in Buto as being a policy implemented in the whole of Egypt.

162 Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, 146.

163 Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen*, 176–177.

164 Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 22; Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 38–40.

165 The feminine pronoun is used because the text refers to the woman Hatshepsut, who took on the male office of kingship.

will maintain] your offerings, she will richly provide [your altars]"[166]—words that clearly indicate that the chief duty of the ruler is to provide for the gods.

Thus, it was not the satrap who could make decisions of this nature that affected the gods: it was only the king. Therefore, although Ptolemy was *de jure* satrap, by making such a decision he was no longer fulfilling the role of *satrap*, but acting out the role of *king* and could therefore be referred to by a royal title, *ḥm=f*, in this section of the text. Once the *theological* decision has been made that the gods are to again receive the property that had been taken from them and Ptolemy sets the *administrative* process in motion for it to be realized, we notice that he is again referred to as "the great chief" and the command is made by order of Ptolemy the satrap.[167]

This brings us back to the question of the empty cartouches. Why are they not inscribed with the names of Alexander IV or of Ptolemy? Could this be because the central event that the stele seeks to perpetuate, the restoration of the property of the gods of Buto, was enacted through an ambivalent power and authority and not clearly by a single individual? The *de jure* king had never set foot in Egypt and lived "amongst the Asiatics", as the text states; the satrap Ptolemy, even if he was not the king *de jure*, was acting as the king *de facto*—and as we have seen, in one place is even given the royal designation "the great ruler of Egypt". For the Egyptian priests, this ambivalence was probably not such a problem from a theological point of view. For them, it was the divine office of kingship that mattered, not the individual who happened to be seated on the throne. The true king of Egypt was the heavenly king, the god, in particular Horus, of whom the earthly king was only a reflection.[168] The Satrap Stele also makes this quite clear in the way it describes Horus. The priests say of him: "Horus the son of Isis, the son of Osiris, ruler of rulers, the Upper Egyptian King of Upper Egyptian Kings, the Lower Egyptian King of Lower Egyptian Kings, the protector of his father, the Lord of Pe, the foremost of the gods who came into existence afterward, since whom there is no king."[169] Even Ptolemy himself, in his response to the priests, seems to acknowledge this: "This god, active and strong amongst the gods, a king has not appeared since him! Grant that I may be placed upon the path of His Majesty, that I may live upon it."[170]

166 *Urk* IV, 217.5–8; Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 14.

167 The Persian word is used, transliterated as *ḫšdrpn*; *WB* III, 339,8.

168 On the ideology of kingship in the Late Period, see Ritner, "Khababash and the Satrap Stela: A Grammatical Rejoinder", 136.

169 Satrap Stele line 10–11; *Urk* II, 17.15–18.3.

170 Satrap Stele line 11–12; *Urk* II, 18.8–11.

Abbreviations

ÄM Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (= Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin)

CGC Lange, H. et al. 1901–. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

DZA Digitales Zettelarchiv of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (Ancient Egyptian Dictionary Project, Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities); http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d001&h=h001

Edfu Chassinat, E. 1892–1933. *Le temple de Edfou*. 8 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

K*RI* Kitchen, K.A. 1969–1990. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell

LGG Leitz, C. 2002–2003. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 vols. Leuven: Peeters.

MH I Hölscher, U. et al. 1930. *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, Volume I. *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

MH II Hölscher, U. et al. 1932. *The Excavation of* Medinet *Habu*, Volume II. *The Late Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago: Oriental Institute

TUAT I Kaiser, O. 1982–1985. *Texte aus der Umwelt des alten Testaments*. Bd. 1: *Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden, Historisch-chronologische Texte* Gütersloh: G. Mohn.

Urk Sethe, K. et al. 1903–1957. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. 8 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

WB Erman, A. and W. Grapow. 1854–1937. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

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CHAPTER 7

Identity and Cross-cultural Interaction in Early Ptolemaic Alexandria: Cremation in Context

Thomas Landvatter

1 Introduction

The nature of the relationship between Egyptians and immigrant groups in Alexandria has long been a point of contestation among historians and classicists, with scholarly opinion vacillating between arguments for intense cultural mingling and strict ethnic separation. Until the last two decades or so, the latter school held sway: Peter Fraser's comment that "the gulf between Greek and Egyptian was almost complete in normal social intercourse of the middle and upper classes"[1] represented something of a consensus.[2] However, this thesis of cultural and social separation has been effectively challenged, and even in earliest Alexandria a binary construction of strict "Egyptian" and "Greek" ethnic identities would have been unlikely.[3] Based on literary evidence

1 Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* vol. 1, 70.

2 For instance, Samuel stated explicitly that "we now understand that native culture and literature flourished alongside the Greek, and that the two had very little influence over each other" (Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History*, 9). Bingen envisioned two discrete cultural zones with no situation that "favoured major cultural transfers", and in which even mixed marriages "would, probably, sooner or later, insert the new domestic cell into one of the two groups rather than the other" (Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt*, 246). As has been noted, it cannot be a coincidence that this theory was first put forward by scholars working in two countries, Canada and Belgium, which were experiencing large scale separatist movements and ethnic conflict at the time (La'da, "Encounters with Ancient Egypt", 163; Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History*, 10, himself states his own bias in this respect). This general discussion regarding the nature of cultural interaction is mirrored in the intense debates of the existence or non-existence of an "Alexandrian style" among art historians and archaeologists. See Hardiman "'Alexandrianism' again" who discusses extensively "Alexandrianism" and the history of debates surrounding the term.

3 Ritner, "Implicit Models of Cross-Cultural Interaction", provides an early but pointed critique of the "separateness" model. Moyer, *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*, 1–41 provides a discussion of Classical scholars' engagement with Egypt and the development and consequent response to the "separatist" model (see particularly his critique of Fraser; Moyer, *Egypt and the*

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specifically relating to the city and extrapolating from papyrological sources from elsewhere in Egypt,[4] it is clear that Alexandria was quite heterogeneous. Immigrants both from within Egypt and from the wider eastern Mediterranean formed the city's population, including Jews, Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, Thracians, and Macedonians,[5] as well as a highly diverse Greek population.[6] Given the scale and intensity of Graeco-Macedonian settlement in Egypt,[7] interaction between immigrants and the indigenous population was inevitable and necessary for society to function, even in a Greek foundation such as Alexandria. Indeed, archaeological survey work in the western Nile Delta has revealed the profound impact that Alexandria's foundation had on the surrounding landscape, demonstrating that the city was bound-up with the Egyptian countryside in ways that belie models of strict social separation.[8]

Limits of Hellenism, 23–24). For work challenging this model, see, e.g., Stephens, *Seeing Double* (in literary studies); Manning, *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt*, and *The Last Pharaohs* (relating to the Ptolemaic state); Moyer, "Court, Chora, and Culture" (on Egyptians and titles related to the Ptolemaic court); and Baines, "Egyptian Elite Self-Presentation" (on Egyptian elites' negotiation and formulation of identity). Recent archaeological work in Alexandria has also indicated the strikingly Egyptian character of the city, especially with respect to monumental architecture and statuary. See for example Goddio, *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters* and Abd El-Maksoud et al., *La fouille du Boubasteion d'Alexandrie* and Abd el-Fattah et al., *Deux inscriptions greques du Boubasteion d'Alexandrie*.

4 Our knowledge of the exact composition of Alexandria's population is incomplete, as most of our evidence for immigration during the Ptolemaic period relates to Egypt as a whole rather than Alexandria alone.

5 Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* vol. 1, 38–60, treats the problem of the composition of Alexandria's population in detail. Some of the city's constituent groups are well known from the literary sources, in particular the Egyptians and Jews (e.g. Strabo 17.1.12, quoting Polybius on Egyptians, mercenaries, and Alexandrians of Greek descent; Josephus *Bell. Jud.* 2.18.8 on the Jewish Quarter). The question of ethnic origin in Ptolemaic Egypt is a complicated one, not least as official designations of origin in government documents eventually ceased to have any connection with actual origin and had more to do with tax status and occupation. See Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People* vol. 2, 123–205; also Yiftach-Firanko, "Did BGU III 2367 Work?"

6 Mueller, "Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in papyrology", 77 identifies individuals from the regions of Cyrenaica, Caria, Pamphylia, Thrace, Crete, Attika, Thessaly, Ionia, and specifically from the cities of Cyrene, Athens, Heracleia, Miletos, Syracuse, Magnesia, Corinth, Chalcis, Aspendos, and Argos.

7 Recent estimates for the number of Greeks in Egypt are those of Fischer-Bovet, "Counting the Greeks in Egypt", 152, who settles on 5% of the total population of Egypt, with immigration ceasing in the 3rd century BCE. Though smaller than other estimates, 5% is still a significant portion of the population.

8 Based on his own as well as previous surveys of the western Nile Delta, Trampier, "The

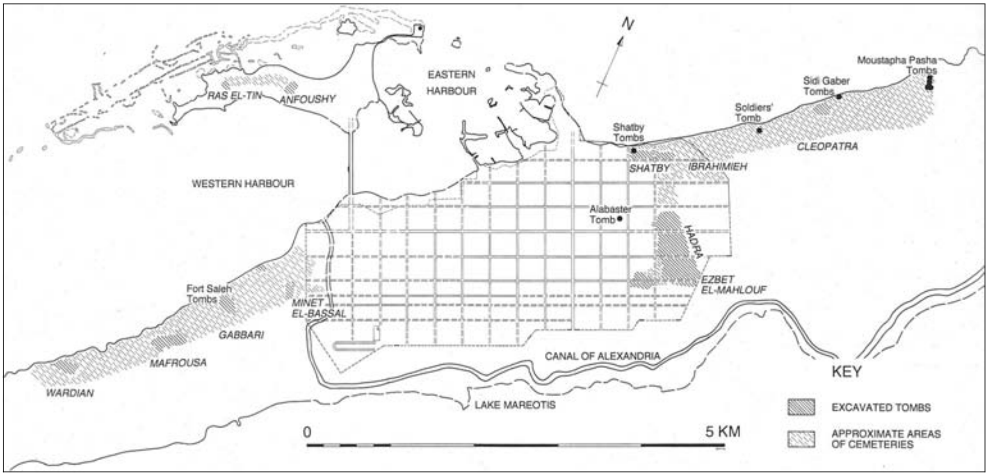

FIGURE 7.1 *Map of Alexandria with locations of major cemeteries*
FIG. 28 IN MCKENZIE, *THE ARCHITECTURE OF ALEXANDRIA AND EGYPT*

Though the diversity of the population in Alexandria and Ptolemaic Egypt as a whole is well attested, this fact does not always influence the analysis of Alexandrian material culture and behaviour. There is often an implicit assumption of the primary importance of Greek and Egyptian ethnic identities, such that the material culture of Alexandria is analysed through a Greek-Egyptian binary; the study of material culture through the lens of this binary then reifies the importance of ethnic identity in scholarly analysis. The initial underlying assumption of the importance of ethnicity is in part due to disciplinary training, since Egyptologists and classical archaeologists/art historians specialize in understanding specific "Greek" and "Egyptian" styles. In a multicultural context such as Alexandria, a scholar can easily fall into what Richard Neer calls "a naïve embrace of *Volksgeister*".[9] With two contrasting "national" styles in the same place, the style of an object becomes emblematic of a people, and so the objects become a stand-in for the ethnic group. In essence, the pot becomes the person. This paradigm encourages the expectation that cultural interaction can only be observed in the "Hellenization" or "Egyptianization" of artefacts, art, and architecture, through the appearance of explicit "Egyptian" motifs in a "Greek" milieu, or vice versa. With such an understanding of Greek and Egyp-

Dynamic Landscape of the Western Nile Delta", 340 concludes that "settlement exploded in the western Delta during the Ptolemaic period, perhaps in large part due to the rising fortune of Alexandria as the new political and commercial centre of Egypt."

9 Neer, "Connoisseurship and the Stakes of Style", 11.

tian material culture, a gulf between the two perceived groups seems apparent as long as there is no obvious "mixing" of Greek and Egyptian styles or practices.

However, what we call "Greek" and "Egyptian" material culture is not emblematic, necessarily, of an ethnic identity. Rather, to call something "Greek" or "Egyptian" is scholarly shorthand for a group of attributes that originated in particular geographic regions under particular socio-cultural circumstances. The relationship between a real "ethnic" identity and material culture is thus never straightforward, particularly in instances of cross-cultural interaction.[10] In the first place, acculturation (i.e. "Hellenization" or "Egyptianization") is not the only potential result: individuals and groups can react in a variety of ways to cross-cultural contact, ranging from the adoption of unfamiliar practices, identities, and material culture to their outright rejection. In between, there is the important possibility of the creation of new social structures, behaviours, and material culture traditions. My present concern is the nature of social and individual identity in early Alexandria as manifested in mortuary practices, without relying on a model that assumes the primary importance of a predetermined ethnic identity.[11]

The archaeological remains of mortuary practice are particularly useful for examining social identity due to the nature of funerary behaviour itself. The burial practices of a society are a set of behaviours for the treatment of the dead. A given burial is an archaeological event, either single or multi-staged, enacted by those burying the deceased within the bounds of their society's conception of what constitutes proper burial ritual. A burial is thus the result of intentional and circumscribed action: it is not the result of random behaviour, but rather results from a series of choices of behaviour made within particular boundaries. As these choices are made and performed by the survivors of the

10 The tenuous relationship between material culture, "archaeological cultures", and real ethnic groups has been commented upon frequently. Jones for instance notes that "there is rarely a one-to-one relationship between representations of ethnicity and the entire range of cultural practices and social conditions associated with a particular ethnic group" (Jones, *Archaeology of the Ethnicity*, 128). Emberling, however, notes that while ethnicity is flexible and not always salient, there are reasons to think that "some aspects of material culture are more likely than others to mark ethnic difference" (Emberling, "Ethnicity in Complex Societies", 325).

11 Archaeology has the ability to challenge the assumed importance of historically attested ethnic identities. For instance, Voss's work at the Presidio de San Francisco (Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis*) works to trace cultural identity formation through the archaeological record to challenge the state-imposed ethnic distinctions in colonial California.

deceased, the behaviours associated with a given burial are consistent with the relationship between the deceased and society; that is, the treatment of the deceased will be consistent with certain aspects of his/her social identity. By observing patterns in aspects of mortuary practice across a number of graves, it is possible to identify recognized social distinctions/identities. If a pattern is found, it must be meaningful in some respect because the actions that created a pattern were intentional.[12] The analysis of funerary practice as a system thus has the potential to shed light on the social life of an ancient society.

Until recent decades, and in particular until the excavations by the Centre d'Études Alexandrines,[13] material culture relating to Alexandrian funerary practices tended to be treated as works of Greek art first and foremost, rather than as components of a funerary system. For example, until recently the study of cremation practice in Alexandria[14] was long tangential to the study of a class of cinerary urn common in Alexandria, the so-called "Hadra vases". These urns were largely viewed by scholars as "Greek" vases—that is, as art objects—and have been treated largely on an art-historical level, focusing in particular on stylistic development.[15] Treatments of the vases as contextualized objects have been based on a hellenocentric historical framework: Hadra vases were thought

12 The basis for this approach, rooted in North American processual archaeology, can be found in a wide array of anthropological literature. See in particular Beck, *Regional Approaches to Mortuary Analysis*; Binford, "Mortuary Practices"; Brown, *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*; Chapman et al., *The Archaeology of Death*; O'Shea, *Mortuary Variability* and *Villagers of the Maros*; Saxe, "Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices". For criticisms of this approach from a post-processual perspective, see Hodder, *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, and "Social Structure and Cemeteries"; Pearson, "Mortuary practices, society and ideology", and *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*.

13 Empereur and Nenna, *Nécropolis 1* and *Nécropolis 2* in particular, but also especially Alix, "Les enfants dans la nécropole gréco-romaine", which treats the children's burials from Gabbari in great detail.

14 The work of Grévin and Bailet ("Fouille d'hydries funéraires à crémation", "Alexandrie, une étude pionnière en archéologie", and "Le crémation en Égypte") has been particularly important for our understanding of Ptolemaic-period cremation practice, especially from a bioarchaeological/physical-anthropological perspective.

15 Hadra vases first began being published in the late 19th century, both from museum collections, and objects that were the result of both legal and illicit excavations. The first publication was that of Merriam in 1885 ("Inscribed Sepulchral Vases"). Early work invariably focused on the dates and inscriptions present on a minority of the vases. Pagenstecher, "Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton", attempted to construct a stylistic development, but retracted it. Scholars through the 1960s attempted to construct a stylistic grouping and chronology. Cook in 1968 ("A Hadra Vase in the Brooklyn Museum") assumed that production started at the end of the 4th century and ended in the middle of the 2nd century.

at one time to be trophies by analogy with the Panathenaic amphorae which were then sold second-hand to be used as cinerary urns,[16] while others thought that they were made by refugees from Thebes, based on stylistic similarity with Boeotian vessels.[17] Though these theories have since been discredited, they demonstrate the extent to which, since their discovery, the Hadra vases were considered to be "Greek" objects divorced from their Alexandrian—and Egyptian—context. When cremation practices are considered in the context of a system of Alexandrian funerary practice, however, we can consider the implications for our understanding of social identity in the early city, one that can be more nuanced than simply "Greek" versus "Egyptian".

In what follows, the focus is the cemetery of Shatby (also transliterated as "Chatby" and "Sciatbi"), which has generally been considered the earliest attested cemetery of Alexandria, and very likely where the first inhabitants of the new city were buried. The most recent dating of the cemetery has placed its use from the late fourth to the first half of the third century BCE, with some burials perhaps extending after that, making it particularly long-lived compared to other known cemeteries in Alexandria; however, it remains the earliest attested.[18] By analysing cremation burials in the context of the sys-

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This chronology has been refined by Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases". See also Cook, *Inscribed Hadra Vases*, and Cook, "An Alexandrian Tomb-Group Re-examined".

16 This was based on similarities between several scenes on the hydriae to those on Panathenaic amphorae, and the presence of an inscription on one vase (formerly Berlin 3767; see Pagenstecher, "Dated Sepulchral Vases", 402): Πύλων ἀγῶνι ἔγραψε ("Pylon painted [it] for [the] game"). Pagenstecher, "Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton", 33 first proposed that this vase indicated that hydriae were originally "prize vases", a view echoed and expanded on by Guerini, *Vasi di Hadra*, 11, who related the Hadra vases to the hydriae in the procession of Ptolemy II described in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 199), and Callaghan, "The Trefoil Style", 25. Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 80–81 has proven this interpretation incorrect, citing the lack of "sporting scenes" on the hydriae (only seven out of several hundred examples), and the fact that hydriae as a type are never attested as prize-vessels. He also suggested that one could read the inscription in question simply as "Pylon painted [it] for Agon", taking Ἄγωνι as a personal name.

17 The similarities between Boeotian vessels and the Hadra vases was much discussed in the early literature (see Pagenstecher, "Dated Sepulchral Vases", and Rönne and Fraser, "A Hadra-vase in the Ashmolean Museum"). Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* vol. 1, 139, explicitly states the possibility that they were made by immigrant Theban craftsmen.

18 On the dating of the cemetery, see in particular Coulson, "Chatby Reconsidered", Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery*, 29–31, and Tezgör, *Tanagréennes d'Alexandrie*, 18. See also Tkaczow, *The Topography of Ancient Alexandria*, 168–169 and Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria*, 192.

tem of funerary practice in this cemetery, and by taking into account the social and cultural context of earliest Alexandria, we can begin to speculate as to the social meaning ascribed to cremation and the social identities that the practice potentially reflects. I argue that the place of cremation practice within the system of funerary behaviour represented at the Shatby cemetery can be understood as reflective of the social environment of the early settlers of Alexandria, rather than simply an importation of Greek and Macedonian practice. I also argue that, perhaps counter intuitively, cremation may demonstrate engagement with indigenous Egyptians and their culture: cremation is in every way the rejection of Egyptian notions concerning the correct treatment of the dead, and so may have come to signify an "immigrant" or "non-Egyptian" identity rather than strictly a "Greek" or "Macedonian" one. The nature of the data from the Shatby cemetery means that my analysis is suggestive, rather than conclusive; indeed, an analysis that is fully in line with the approach to burial practices outlined above cannot be done due to the nature of the extant data.[19] However, it provides an avenue for rethinking the connections between cultural identity and burial practice in Ptolemaic Egypt.

The Shatby cemetery (see fig. 7.1) was excavated by Evaristo Breccia in the early twentieth century, with a final publication in 1912.[20] The remains of this cemetery are still extant, though poorly preserved (fig. 7.2 presents a recent view of the site). Breccia did not mention the total number of graves excavated, and he only published a selection of undisturbed tomb assemblages: sixteen complete assemblages, with several others that are at least partially reconstructable.[21] As a result, it is not possible to determine the percentage of intact versus disturbed grave assemblages, or of intact burials with grave goods versus those without any objects at all.[22] While an extensive plan of the cemetery is included in Breccia's final publication, it is generally not possible

19 The raw data from Adriani's excavations of the Manara cemetery, another early Ptolemaic cemetery in Alexandria, may provide such a dataset for a more quantitative analysis. Much of this data was published in Nenna, "La fouille du secteur el-Manara", after I first presented this paper.

20 See Breccia, "La Necropoli di Sciatbi", and *La Necropoli di Sciatbi.*

21 All of Breccia's reported burials, briefly described and with contents listed and categorized, are presented in the appendix; reference will be made to these assemblages by grave number throughout.

22 Breccia provided an account of only one burial found without objects at Shatby. Since the primary goal of these excavations was the acquisition of objects for the Graeco-Roman Museum, burials without objects were severely underreported; such graves would not have been given any attention.

FIGURE 7.2 *View of Shatby in 2012, focusing on Hypogeum A*
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

to associate specific graves described by Breccia in his report with those represented on the plan. The exception is for what Breccia called "Section A" of the cemetery: he included a plan of this part of the cemetery in his preliminary 1905 publication of the site, in which each tomb is numbered.[23] Fig. 7.3 is Breccia's map from 1912 with the tombs from "Section A" numbered according to the earlier 1905 plan. Two tombs Breccia describes in full, tombs 23 and 32 Section A, can be located on fig. 7.3; no other burials reported by Breccia can be positively located. Despite these limitations, the published burial assemblages are very informative, and allow for a qualitative assessment of early Alexandrian burial practices. In the following discussion, I concentrate on cremation burials in three aspects: the proportion of cremations versus inhumations; the burial assemblage, including a discussion of the urns themselves and chronological issues; and funerary architecture. I will then discuss cremation at Shatby in relation to the social environment of early Alexandria.

23 Breccia, "La Necropoli di Sciatbi".

2 Cremation and Inhumation

In the Shatby cemetery the main distinction in body treatment is between cremation and inhumation; no mummifications from the Ptolemaic period were recorded at the site.[24] Cremations were always rarer than inhumations: Breccia[25] estimated that there were eight or ten inhumations for every cremation in Shatby. This proportion accords to some extent with other Ptolemaic period cemeteries in Alexandria, such as Hadra where the proportion was ten inhumations per cremation.[26] At the nearby site of Plinthine, twenty-one percent of tombs were cremations and another thirteen percent were mixed cremations/inhumations.[27] Among the fully recorded and reported graves that Breccia reports from Shatby, there are two single-interment cremations,[28] two multiple-interment cremations,[29] and two mixed cremation/inhumation burials,[30] for a total of six graves with nine cremation interments. There are more inhumations recorded, with ten single interments[31] and the two noted in a mixed-type context.[32] Breccia did not report proportions of multiple versus single interments. Among the reported burial assemblages, there are examples of multiple-cremation interments and mixed inhumation-cremation interments. Breccia does describe multiple-interment inhumations, but he does not provide a detailed description of a grave assemblage for that type of burial.[33] He does, however, describe inhumations in the same grave buried side by side, and in one case two burials one on top of the other; he also describes mixed-age burials, referring to burials of adults and juveniles together.[34]

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24 Mummifications are noted in Alexandria (see Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria*, as well as Empereur and Nenna *Nécropolis 1* and *Nécropolis 2*). Among the earliest cemeteries, there is only one reference to "mummified bodies" in the Hadra cemetery, in *Le Musée 1*: 26, which refer to potentially Roman period burials. The context was heavily disturbed, and is unclear overall.

25 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xxiii–xxiv.

26 *Annuaire 1*, 18–19.

27 *Annuaire 4*, 140 ff.

28 Tomb 32, section A; Tomb 16, Section B.

29 Tomb 35–37, section B; tomb 12, section C.

30 Tomb 26, section C; tomb 40, section C.

31 Tomb 23, section A; tomb 5, section B; tomb 8, section B; tomb 14, section B; tomb 15, section B; tomb 15a, section B; tomb 29, section B; tomb 46, section B; tomb 25, section C; tomb 50, section C.

32 Again, Tomb 26, section C; tomb 40, section C.

33 See Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xviii, fig. 5.

34 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xviii.

FIGURE 7.3 *Plan of Shatby cemetery*
MAIN PLAN FROM BRECCIA, *LA NECROPOLI DI SCIATBI*, TABLE A, WITH TOMBS IN SECTION A NUMBERED ACCORDING TO EARLIER PLAN IN 1905 PRELIMINARY PUBLICATION

According to Breccia's own observations on body treatment, the published Shatby burials represent at the same time both an over- and underrepresentation of cremation burials. In line with scholarly concerns of the time, Breccia's primary focus was the objects themselves rather than discrete archaeological contexts. The reported assemblages are thus selective, such that cremations or mixed interments are over one-third of the total burial assemblages fully described in the final publication, since they were seen as intrinsically interesting; proportionally, then, we have more cremation burials described than would be expected given Breccia's own assessment of the ratio of cremation to inhumation. However, there were very clearly numerically many more cremation burials found at Shatby: Breccia includes forty-seven cinerary urns in the catalogue of objects from his excavations,[35] no less than fourteen of which have been identified as Hadra hydriae.[36]

3 Cremations, Urns, and the Burial Assemblage

The most distinctive object of a cremation burial is of course the urn. The study of cremation practice in Alexandria has been particularly tied to the study of the cinerary urns themselves, especially the aforementioned "Hadra vases".[37] Though not the most common, and though there are many examples of cinerary urns in non-ceramic materials,[38] Hadra vases are the best-known class of urn. The term "Hadra vase" has actually been applied to two related but distinct groups of vessels: the so called "white-ground", made of a red, friable clay of Egyptian origin and probably made in Alexandria; and the "clay-ground" vessels, made of a hard, granular, pink to buff fabric from Crete and which have been found across the Eastern Mediterranean, though the vast majority were found in Alexandria.[39]

35 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, catalogue nos. 40–86.

36 Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 56.

37 See above, n. 8 and 9.

38 See Parlasca, "Alexandrinische Aschenurnen", for an overview of these. These include glass, alabaster, bronze, and faience vessels.

39 These correspond to Breccia's urn categories "γ" and "δ" (see Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, 26–27). The Optical Emission Spectroscopy of P.J. Callaghan demonstrated definitively that the clay ground vessels were produced on Crete around Knossos, not in Egypt, and were only imported to Alexandria (Callaghan and Jones, "Hadra hydriae and Central Crete").

Only the "clay-ground" vessels, the vessels which are most often referred to as Hadra vases, have been studied properly.[40] Both types were present in the Shatby cemetery, with the locally-made "white-ground" vessels outnumbering imported Hadra vases.[41] The production of "white-ground" vessels predates that of the Hadra vases, indicating that there was probably from the foundation of the city a large local industry devoted to the production of cinerary urns, which was then supplemented by a growing import industry.[42] Both "white-ground" and Hadra vases were specifically produced as cinerary vessels, and so were specifically funerary objects. Their inclusion thus indicates a certain level of personal or familial wealth on the part of the deceased: they possessed enough resources to purchase an entirely non-utilitarian object.

In contrast to cremation burials with their specific receptacles for the deceased, Breccia reported no sarcophagi or coffins associated with inhumation burials, though he states rightly that this may be preservation bias.[43] For example, several elements of gilded decorative plaster were recovered in one tomb, which were analogous to those found on contemporary wooden coffins elsewhere.[44] This implies that at least for inhumation burials some resources would have been spent on expensive mortuary receptacles along the lines of cinerary urns, though one would expect a wood and stucco coffin to in fact cost more than an urn. No graves were fully published that contained the remains of these coffins.

40 According to Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", decoration on the "White Ground" vessels is generally not well preserved, which would explain why no one has properly looked at them: attempts at a chronology based on stylistic development would likely be impossible.

41 Enklaar, "Chronologie et peintures des hydries de Hadra", 106 n. 1.

42 Breccia observed that both types of vessel were often found together (See Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, 33 ff.). As stated above, their clay indicates that the "white-ground" vessels were made in Alexandria, and at Shatby these vases were far more numerous than "clay-ground" vessels, but are rare in the later parts of the Hadra cemetery (Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 5 n. 6 and "Chronologie et peintures des hydries de Hadra" n. 1). It thus seems very likely that white-ground vessels preceded the heyday of clay-ground ones, perhaps roughly in the 1st half of the 3rd cent BCE (Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases"). In addition, two of Enklaar's vase groupings are definite imports, the "D" (production begins c. 230 BCE) and the "L" (production begins c. 260 BCE). A third grouping, Enklaar's "S" group (production begins 4th century BCE), also appears to be of Cretan origin, though they were not tested through Optical Emission Spectroscopy. Enklaar's fourth group, "BL", (production begins 240s BCE) is of a lower quality and seem to be local imitations of the imported vessels. See Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 6–13; 23–27.

43 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xxii–xxiii.

44 See Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xxii–xxiii, plate LXXIX.

Urns of course are just one element of an assemblage of grave goods. However, Breccia only fully described a small selection of full burial assemblages, and did not cross-reference these lists with items in the catalogue of objects: hence it is nearly impossible to associate specific objects with specific burials.[45] Tezgör reconstructed fourteen assemblages of figurines that belong to specific burials from Shatby and was at times able to link these figurines with other objects, including two with cinerary urns (Ensembles 03 and 07);[46] however, these assemblages are not necessarily complete.[47] The paucity of fully described grave assemblages obviously precludes a quantitative analysis of the material. Yet, even a qualitative assessment of the assemblages allows us to consider whether cremation and inhumation assemblages are fundamentally different—that is, whether the choice of cremation or inhumation dictated the choice of objects in a burial assemblage. Table 7.1 presents all of the attested object types from the burial assemblages reported by Breccia at Shatby, and whether they appear in cremation burials, inhumation burials, or in a mixed inhumation/cremation context. In parentheses is the number of graves in which that type appears. Though the sample size is very small (n = 16), there are no object types (discounting urns) unique to cremation burials among the reported assemblages from Shatby.[48] This suggests that inhumation burials and cremation burials are utilizing the same mortuary logic in the construction of the grave assemblage: the choice of cremation does not dictate the use of grave goods that are fundamentally different from those included in inhumation burials.

A serious deficiency in this data is the inability to talk about the chronological development of the burial assemblage: there are simply not enough fully reconstructable burial assemblages with dateable material to adequately

45 Breccia did appear to register objects from individual burial assemblages in succession, such that successive inventory numbers may indicate objects that belong to the same burial assemblage, though with no indication when one assemblage would end and another would begin. With further research, it may be possible to reconstruct more complete assemblages.

46 Tezgör, *Tanagréennes d'Alexandrie*, 23–25.

47 Ensemble 03: Urn, Alex. 10549 (Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, cat. no. 41), Figurines 10542, 10543, 10544, 10545, 10550, 10551, 10552, 10553, 10554; Ensemble 07: Urn, Alex. 17963 (Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, cat. no. 83), Figurines 17964–17967. Ensemble 07 also appears in Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, fig. 16, and may represent a complete assemblage. See Tezgör, *Tanagréennes d'Alexandrie*, 24.

48 This also appears to be the case in the slightly later Hadra cemetery, from which there are far more attested burial assemblages.

TABLE 7.1 *Object types with number of graves in which they appear ("incidences") in parentheses, and whether a type appears in a cremation burial, inhumation burial, or mixed-type context. The type "vessels" includes all ceramic and alabaster vessels; the italicized types are the different categories of vessel for which a function could be determined based on the Shatby site report.*

Object type (incidences)	Cremation?	Inhumation?	Mix?
Coin (2)		Yes	
Disk (1)		Yes	
Knife (1)		Yes	
Figurine (5)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Lamp (4)		Yes	Yes
Mirror (2)		Yes	Yes
Pin (1)		Yes	
Tongs (1)			Yes
Wreath (5)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vessel (11)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Amphora (1)		Yes	
Dish (3)		Yes	Yes
Drinking Vessel (4)		Yes	Yes
Libation Vessel (2)		Yes	Yes
Unguent Vessel (5)	Yes	Yes	Yes

discuss the development of burial practice over time in Shatby. Nevertheless, dateable material at least exists, allowing chronology to be discussed in general terms. Tezgör has developed a relative chronology of Tanagra figurines found in Alexandria, with one figurine from Ensemble 07 in Shatby being placed in Série 12, just over midway through her sequence. Another figurine from the Hadra cemetery, unfortunately without context, belongs to the same series, and so the burial associated with Ensemble 07 must date sometime after the Hadra cemetery was first opened in the second quarter of the third century BCE; precise dating, however, remains elusive.[49] The Hadra vases excavated at Shatby can be dated somewhat more precisely, so one can get some sense of the chronological span of when cremation was used in Shatby. Table 7.2, derived from and using Enklaar's 1992 study of the Hadra Vases, lists all of the identifiable Hadra Vases excavated at Shatby, using Enklaar's terminology for style and shape of each

49 Tezgör, *Tanagréennes d'Alexandrie*, 19–22.

TABLE 7.2 *Hadra vases from Shatby cemetery, arranged in ascending chronological order. Derived from Enklaar 1992: 56, table 8, with information added from elsewhere in his work. Style, shape, painter, and decoration categories are Enklaar's, as are the suggested dates. The corresponding catalogue number in Breccia,* La Necropoli di Sciatbi *is included. Number 19100, marked with a *, was found in room h of Hypogeum A.*

Inv. no.	Type	Style	Shape	Painter/ decoration	Date (BCE)	Inscription	Breccia catalogue no.
15610	hydria	Simple Cretan		O-Hydria	4th c.		76
16094	hydria	Laurel*	P1	Pioneer 2	270–260	Μυρτοῦς	71
10458	hydria	Laurel	L2	Ivy	260s–240		69
10522	amphora	Laurel	L2	Laurel w.?	260s–240		78
19098	hydria	Laurel	L2		260s–240		66
19093	hydria	Laurel		Big Leaves?	before 250		68
15521	hydria	Laurel	L3	Big Leaves?	c. 250		74
10276	hydria	Simple Cretan		Spiral	pre-240	τελ/υελ?	72
19095	hydria	Laurel	L9	Bead and Reel	c. 240		73
19092	hydria	Laurel	L10		240–235	Ἀντίπατρος	65
*19100	hydria	Laurel	L1	Droplets	240–230		67
19102	hydria	Laurel	L4	Droplets	c. 235?		75
19091	hydria	Simple Cretan		Spiral	225–175	κυχ	77
19094	hydria	Laurel				Ἀντόρεος	

vessel. The dates are derived from his dates of styles and painters, as well as the occasional object found in association. As can be seen, the vases span much of the third century BCE, from 270 at the earliest to the early second century at the latest. The true Hadra hydriae (as opposed to the Cretan household hydriae, Enklaar's "Simple Cretan" group) all belong to Enklaar's earliest style, the Laurel ("L") group, and do not include any of the Branchless Laurel ("BL") group, which were probably local imitations of the more expensive Cretan imports. Consistent with Shatby's date, cremations in Hadra vases tend to be relatively early: most date prior to 240 BCE, less than 100 years after Alexandria's foundation. None of these Hadra vases can be conclusively linked to Breccia's fully reported assemblages, so we are still left with only impressions of Shatby's chronology as a whole, rather than of burial assemblages in particular.

TABLE 7.3 *Association of cremation and inhumation burials with a given tomb type. Tomb types are categorized by architecture type and single interment versus multiple interment.*

Tomb type	Cremation	Inhumation
Fossa (*Single*)	Yes	Yes
Fossa (*Multiple*)	Yes	Yes
Fossa w/ monument (*Single*)	Yes	Yes
Fossa w/ monument (*Multiple*)	Yes	No?
Single Interment Hypogeum	No?	Yes
Multiple Interment Hypogeum	Yes	Yes

4 Cremations and Funerary Architecture

Neither mode of interment, cremation or inhumation, seems to have been exclusive to a specific type of burial architecture (see table 7.3). Architecturally, the tombs excavated by Breccia at Shatby can be sorted into two basic types: *fossa* ("pit") burials, and hypogea, which are more complex underground rock-cut structures primarily differentiated from the *fossae* by the presence of subterranean architecture in addition to the burial chamber itself. *Fossa* burials[50] were generally rectangular or trapezoidal (i.e. wider at the head and narrower at the feet), and ranged in depth from 0.4 m to 1.5 m cut into the bedrock. Generally, these graves were covered with three to five rock slabs. These were by far the most common type of burial at Shatby. *Fossae* were often surmounted by a funerary monument, and could have an inset funerary stele. Unlike the *fossae* themselves, which were fairly uniform, the funerary monuments seem to have varied widely in size.[51] As might be expected, those graves associated with monuments seem to have richer burial assemblages.[52]

There were two varieties of hypogeum in Shatby. The primary distinction was between hypogea meant for single interments and those constructed for multiple interments. The most basic form of hypogeum was a *loculus* cut into the rock and open to a small vestibule approached by a rock-cut staircase. The

50 See in particular Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xvii–xix.

51 Detailed descriptions of these types are found in Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, and *Annuaire 3*.

52 Compare, e.g., tomb 23 section A (no monument) and tomb 25, section C (with monument), the latter having a gilded wreath.

loculus chamber was sealed from the staircase by a slab, while the approach to the chamber was filled in with sand and soil, and so was not meant to be accessed again. The size of a loculus chamber itself was comparable to that of the *fossa* graves. These types required more effort than a simple *fossa*, however, and clearly drew on the funerary vocabulary of Macedonia, where underground chamber tombs were common among the elite.[53] These can be seen as a lower-effort version of a similar type. The second type of hypogeum consists of large, elaborate complexes explicitly meant for multiple interments. There are two large elaborate hypogea in Shatby, labelled "A" and "B", the former being the more architecturally elaborate. A plan of Shatby Hypogeum A is presented in fig. 7.4.[54] At least one cremation, in a Hadra vase, was found in Hypogeum A, in a small niche in room h along with several inhumation burials.[55] This Hadra vase, Inv. No. 19100, dates between 240 and 230 BCE (see Table 7.2).

Stefan Schmidt reassessed Hypogeum "A" at Shatby and suggested that this and other hypogea like it were used by voluntary associations; that is, non-kin based groups which as a part of their function often pooled resources to cover burial costs.[56] He argued that individuals in Alexandria were forced to create new ways of distinguishing themselves in a new urban environment in the absence of the social ties that had existed in their old cities.[57] While there is no direct evidence for the existence of private, voluntary associations in Alexandria itself, there are numerous examples of such groups throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Rhodes in particular has been a major source of both epigraphic and archaeological information regarding their activities.[58] For Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, we have documentary evidence in Demotic

53 The most famous of these are at the royal necropolis of Vergina. See Andronikos, *Vergina*.

54 These communal burial structures are the first of many similar structures present in all excavated Alexandrian cemeteries. The later Hadra cemetery included a number of hypogea that are not as elaborate in terms of architecture or decoration, but include multiple *loculi*, ranging from two to ten or more. There are more elaborate structures as well elsewhere in the city, at Mustafa Kamel and Anfushy (See *Annuaire* 2 and 4). The more elaborate structures are particularly distinguished by their decoration, and the presence of designated spaces for ritual use. See Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria*, for the most complete survey, as well as Empereur and Nenna *Nécropolis 1* and *Nécropolis 2* for Gabbari.

55 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xlv, cat. no. 67, plate XLI, 54. See also Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 78 and Appendix C.

56 Schmidt, "Nekropolis—Grabarchitektur und Gesellschaft", 139–141; 153.

57 Schmidt, "Nekropolis—Grabarchitektur und Gesellschaft", 153.

58 See Schmidt, "Nekropolis—Grabarchitektur und Gesellschaft"; Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*.

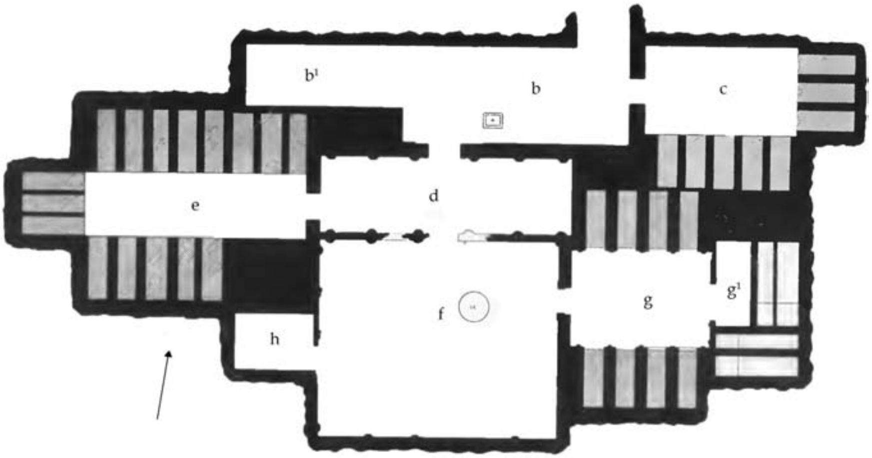

FIGURE 7.4 *Plan of Hypogeum A*
FROM BRECCIA, *LA NECROPOLI DI SCIATBI*, TABLE I, WITH LABELING REDONE FOR CLARITY

and Greek attesting to such associations, including some which have funerary obligations spelled out in their bylaws.[59] That both inhumations and cremations are found in the monumental Hypogeum "A" is particularly significant.[60] Taking Schmidt's suggestion that this structure was used by a voluntary, non-kin based association to be correct, it seems that inhumation or cremation did not mark membership in such a group, nor that the use of one or the other was required by the group for inclusion in their burial.

59 Schmidt, "Nekropolis—Grabarchitektur und Gesellschaft", 139–141; 153. While there is no direct evidence for the existence of private associations in Alexandria itself, there is ample evidence of such groups throughout the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g. Rhodes: see Fabricius, *Die hellenistischen Totenmahlreliefs*, and Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments*), largely derived from funerary monuments, and in Egypt, where papyrological evidence is abundant. In Egypt during the Ptolemaic period, for example, we have documentary evidence from Tebtunis attesting to three such associations' activities (see Monson, "Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations", and Muhs, "Membership in Private Associations"). Involvement in members' funerals was standard practice for private associations. For a full treatment of the evidence for private associations in the Greek world, see Poland, *Geschichte des Griechische Vereinswesens*; and for organizations in the Roman period East, see van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations* (for their funerary functions in particular in this period, see 31–69).

60 See Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xlv for the inhumations and cremations in room *h* of Hypogeum A.

5 Cremation in Context

Though there are few reported assemblages from Shatby, we can still roughly characterize the place of cremation in the system of mortuary practice during the third century BCE in that cemetery. First of all, cremations are not necessarily connected to any particular religious belief; this is demonstrated by the presence of inhumations and cremations in the same grave. Were there specific religious associations with cremation, one would expect cremation burials to be segregated in some way. Breccia himself rejected a connection to any particular religious belief from the very beginning, and believed that the choice was simply a practical one, cremation being more convenient in some instances.[61] In fact, overall, cremation burials were not treated in a substantively different manner from inhumation burials. Cremations are not associated exclusively with any particular type of grave structure, treatment, or assemblage of grave goods. Cremation burials are found singly and in multiple, in pit tombs and in communal burial hypogea, and with inhumation burials. Variability among cremation burials, too, is similar to variability among inhumation graves. Both cremation and inhumation graves have similar ranges of grave goods—from no grave goods to gilded wreaths. However, this characterization must be taken with caution, given the lack of chronological control over the Shatby material.

Given the variety of ways in which a particular cinerary urn could be interned, cremation itself was not likely associated with any one specific group. This includes membership in any specific voluntary association or other non-kin associated group—or for, that matter, any kin-based one either. There was no requirement of either inhumation or cremation for inclusion in a multiple-interment hypogeum, or even in the joint cremation-inhumation *fossa* tombs, which are most probably family graves. We also know that cremation was at least eventually used by a variety of groups in Alexandria as a whole since there are inscribed vases (though not from Shatby) which indicate that they belonged to foreign officials and dignitaries who died in Alexandria, or to speakers of non-Greek languages: one Hadra vase has a Punic inscription, while another contained the remains of a Galatian woman.[62]

61 Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, xxxiii.

62 Alex. 5286, number 131 and Alex. 4565, respectively, in Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases". The inscription of the former (in transliteration) reads *Ḥm bn ythns*[*d*], "(urn) for Hima son of Yathansid" (see also Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 18). The latter inscription reads Οὔδορις Γαλάτῃ, "Oudoris, Galatian woman." See Enklaar, "The Hadra Vases", 78 for a summary of some of these issues.

Though inhumations and cremations are treated in a similar manner overall, in some respects cremations were quite distinctive. As stated above, cremation burials make up between one-eighth and one-tenth of all burials in Shatby. In addition, though the actual interment of the cinerary urn could be relatively simple, the act of cremation itself—and likely its attendant ceremony—was quite expensive given the cost of a pyre, and would have required significantly more expenditure than a simple interment. Furthermore, even if a particular grave monument associated with a specific burial was subdued, cremations would have been significantly more visible at the moment of the ritual: the funeral pyre would be quite obvious, though ephemeral. This was not a ceremony that could be conducted in private, without another's knowledge: cremation was meant to be seen.

Since cremation was, of course, not a funerary practice indigenous to Egypt, Macedonian practice is the likely immediate precedent for Alexandrian cremation.[63] During the mid-to-late fourth century about seven to eight per cent of burials in Macedonia were cremations. Cremation was not gender specific, as both male and females appear. It was also used across the socio-economic spectrum: elaborate royal burials were cremations, but there were also simple primary cremations, entailing the burial on the site of the pyre, as well as more elaborate secondary cremations, with deposition of cremations in urns. Cremation burial assemblages were not categorically different from those of inhumations: types of objects were roughly equivalent.[64] Alexandrian cremation practice at Shatby does bear some relation to the practices in Macedonia at the end of the fourth century. As in Macedonia, cremation cannot strictly be tied to a vertical socio-hierarchical distinction: cremation itself was more expensive than a simple inhumation, but by itself it does not seem to mark a decidedly different socio-economic category. Most likely, cremation marks a social identity that cross-cuts the socio-economic hierarchy, at least to a point: the identity's material manifestation was only available to those who could afford the cremation itself. But, no matter the socio-economic status of the deceased, the cremation rite itself would have been visible to all. The expense associated with the funeral pyre itself was a limiting factor, but beyond that expense there were many opportunities for elaboration and variation. It is strik-

63 Macedonian cremation practice is obscure due to its publication history, but more information is becoming accessible. Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot, "Des bûchers de Vergina aux hydries de Hadra", has summarized much of this information on Macedonian cremation, and compared it to Alexandrian practices. The information presented here on Macedonian cremation is largely derived from this article.

64 Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot, "Des bûchers de Vergina aux hydries de Hadra", 139.

ing that in both Macedonia and Alexandria that the number of cremations were relatively low, at ten percent or less: cremation was never the dominant practice.

However, the particular context of early Alexandria might indicate a sharply different understanding of what cremation signalled in an Egyptian milieu, versus a Macedonian one, even though the percentage of cremation burials in Alexandria and Macedonia are roughly equivalent. Alexandria's population was defined by a large influx of non-Egyptian individuals who were suddenly confronted by an alien cultural tradition, particularly related to funerary customs; the Ptolemaic ruling class was, of course, a part of this foreign influx. In this context, cremation when practiced in Alexandria likely took on a specific local meaning: cremation was the complete antithesis of the funerary beliefs and customs of the indigenous Egyptian cultural tradition, which emphasized the preservation of the body. Given that cremation seems to cross-cut socioeconomic boundaries, that it does not seem to mark belonging in any particular family or voluntary association, and that the early social environment of Alexandria was characterized by a large immigrant population, it may be that cremation marks an explicit rejection—that is, resistance—to Egyptian funerary practices and beliefs. In early Alexandria, a declaration of difference from the surrounding indigenous milieu was a potentially important identity to broadcast, and one that would not have been restricted to a specific socioeconomic class or even ethnic group. Such a meaning could not be understood in Macedonia, where immigrants were likely far fewer in number and where there was an indigenous tradition of cremation, including among the highest elites. But in a city with a large Egyptian population and which had a certain Egyptian character from its very foundation (as is demonstrated more and more by recent archaeological work),[65] cremation was a strong statement of separation. Context, here, helps determine the meaning of practice.

Though I argue that cremation would have inevitably been understood, in some way, as a rejection of Egyptian customs, the practice was almost certainly multivalent. In the initial stages of Shatby's use and Alexandrian funerary practice in general, cremation perhaps was primarily either a positive or neutral signal indicating affiliation with a Macedonian identity, besides other connotations of social and economic standing. Alexandrian practice, however, did not simply mimic the Macedonian: there is an enormous spike in the popularity of cremations during the Hellenistic period in Macedonia, representing forty per

65 See above n. 3.

cent of burials in some cases,[66] which never becomes the case in Alexandria. In addition, given the social context of Alexandria, and that cremation seems to act as an independent variable in mortuary practice that cross-cuts vertical social hierarchies, I would argue that cremation took on quite quickly more of a connotation of "not-Egyptian" as opposed to "Greek" or even "Macedonian": cremation emphasizes a dichotomy of "immigrant" versus "indigenous." This is emphasized by the fact that the groups we know used the practice through inscriptions are defined precisely by being *non-indigenous* foreign officials, as indicated on several inscribed Hadra vases, as well as mercenaries and non-Greek residents, though cremation was not restricted solely to them. Cremation marks them as people who died away from "home", wherever that "home" might be. This is complementary, not contradictory, to seeing cremation as a rejection of Egyptian practice, with cremation in general signalling a disassociation from the land in which one was buried, or at least where one had died.[67]

That cremation represents a "non-indigenous" identity is supported by the later history of the practice in both Alexandria and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. Mummification becomes more frequent over time, while cremation does not seem to have been practiced on as large a scale as in the Ptolemaic period.[68] Production of Hadra vases seems to end by the late third century BCE.[69] A reduction in cremations may represent the fact that, as time went on, a "non-indigenous" identity was no longer useful because the population was largely descended from populations who had lived in Egypt for generations.

66 Guimer-Sorbets and Morizot, "Des bûchers de Vergina aux hydries de Hadra", 139.

67 On a practical level, cremation in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was used as a means for transporting deceased back to their place of origin. See Tybout, "Dead Men Walking" for a largely epigraphic approach to this issue. Alexandria, of course, could also be home: see Bernand, *Inscr. métriques* 62, a 3rd–2nd century inscription from Alexandria for a person who died abroad in Caria and who was then cremated and returned home to Alexandria for burial.

68 Morris, *Death-Ritual and Social Structure*, 53 states that cremation had basically disappeared by the Roman period. Venit, "The Stagni Painted Tomb", 666 indicates that cremation and inhumation were more common than mummification in Roman period Alexandria, but her reasons for stating so are obscure. Rowe, "New Excavations at Kom el-Shukafa", 37–39 reports finding cinerary urns in Kom esh-Shoqafa, but does not give any specific numbers, though the impression one gets is that they were a distinct minority compared to inhumation graves.

69 See Enklaar, "Chronologie et peintures des hydries de Hadra", for an in depth discussion of the chronology.

Shatby presents us with a difficult dataset, and understanding the development of cremation's place in Alexandrian funerary practice, as well as more of the nuances of what cremation might be signalling over time, will require more analysis of other attested cemeteries, in particular the material from Adrian's excavations in Hadra for which we have greater chronological control. However, I still argue that cremation could have communicated the potential social signal of "non-indigenous" even in the early phases of Shatby's use. The development of new identities surrounding non-kin group membership by the mid-third century BCE (as seen in the construction of Hypogeum A) indicates significant social shifts among immigrant groups during the first few decades following Alexandria's founding. Immigrants were assessing their new social situation, and new social structures and identities were developing as a result. Part of that assessment would inevitably be coming to terms with indigenous Egyptian culture, and cremation would have been a significant way for people to signal identity in the context of that confrontation. We can thus potentially see in the Shatby cemetery cross-cultural interaction affecting individual and social identity, even in the absence of objects and practices of an obviously "Graeco-Egyptian" style.

6 Appendix: Summaries of Complete Burial Assemblages as Reported in Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*[70]

Tomb 5, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: N-S); *Dimensions:* L-1.65 m, W-0.65 m, D 0.9 m.

Description: No monument above. Head oriented towards the south. Grave mostly closed by four slabs, but towards the head the grave was carved into the rock, forming a slightly arched cavity. Skull well preserved as a result.

Contents: 1 object, 1 type

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	jar (crude, round bodied; placed at head)	vessel	clay

70 Descriptions are abbreviated translations of Breccia's original text. Tombs 23 and 32 in section A (both marked with *) can be located on fig. 7.3.

Tomb 8, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: E-W)
Description: No monument above. Grave filled with sand. Head oriented towards the east. Traces of fabric adhering to the surface, towards top of grave.
Contents: 5+ objects, 4 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	mirror (circular; short foot infixed into the base, placed to the right of the head)	mirror	bronze
2.)	pin	pin	bronze
3.)–4.)	knives	knife	iron
5.)	conical disks (hole in centre)	disk	bone

Tomb 12, Section C (See Fig. 17)

Type: cremation; *Number of Burials*: 2; *Structure:* fossa with 3.10 m high monument;
Description: two cinerary urns in square chamber at centre of monument, one on top of the other, separated by a slab.
Contents: 2 objects, 1 type

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	kalpis-shaped cinerary urn, top (covered with layer of lime; garland of flowers painted on sides, as if hanging from handles)	urn	clay
2.)	cinerary urn, bottom (Hadra vase; black on a yellow-clay base)	urn	clay

Tomb 14, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: NE-SW); *Dimensions:* L-1.8 m; W-0.45 m; D-0.92 m
Description: No monument above. Devoid of soil or sand. Skeleton intact.
Contents: 0 objects, 0 types

Tomb 15, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: NE-SW); *Dimensions:* L-1.6 m; W-0.4 m; D-0.7 m

Description: No monument above. Grave closed by four short, thin slabs. Half full of topsoil and sand.

Contents: 3+ objects, 2 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	"nails and bronze coins" (indeterminate number, found dispersed in the fill)	coin, nail	bronze
2.)	kantharos (small, painted white)	drinking vessel	clay
3.)	skyphos/kothon (not painted)	drinking vessel	clay

***Tomb 15a, Section B (15a in Breccia "La Necropoli di Sciatbi"; a Second 15 in Breccia,* La Necropoli di Sciatbi)**

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: N-S); *Dimensions:* L-0.8 m; W-0.5 m; D-0.3 m

Description: Head oriented north. Grave one-third full of soil and sand.

Contents: 3 objects, 2 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)–2.)	coins	coin	bronze
3.)	figurine (head separated from body; female with a bird under left arm, no traces of colour)	figurine	clay

Tomb 16, Section B

Type: cremation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa.

Description: rectangular pit.

Contents: 126 objects, 2 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	cinerary urn (amphora-form)	urn	clay
2.)–126.)	small bronze nails (around the urn)	nail	bronze

Tomb 23, Section A

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: N-S); *Dimensions:* L-1.8 m; W-0.7 m; 0.55 m

Description: No monument above. Grave carved into the rock, covered by four slightly thick, partly broken slabs. Filled with sandy loam. Head oriented north, skeleton damaged. Either female or young male (n.b.: this is Breccia's determination; the skeleton has not been subjected to modern physical-anthropological/bioarchaeological recording methods).

Contents: 6 objects, 2 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)–3.)	oinochoe (small, painted black, w/ ribbed belly, towards the middle; placed by the feet)	libation vessel	clay
4.)	kantharos (small, painted black; placed by the feet)	drinking vessel	clay
5.)–6.)	paterae (rough; placed behind the head)	libation vessel	clay

Tomb 25, Section C

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa w/ monument (direction: N-S); *Dimensions:* L-2.1 m; W-0.8 m; D-1.15 m.

Description: Grave located about half-under monument, and was closed by recessed slabs. No soil found in grave. Skeleton supine, arms at sides.

Contents: 7 objects, 5 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	half-wreath of gilded bronze leaves/gilded terracotta grains (placed on the neck)	wreath	clay/bronze/gold
2.)	jar (dark grey, tall cylindrical neck widening towards the top; tall cylindrical handles at shoulder; body tapers into funnel; placed in the NW corner at the head)	vessel	clay
3.)–5.)	saucers (black; placed at right forearm)	dish	clay
6.)	alabastron (on chest b/w spinal column and left femur)	unguent vessel	alabaster
7.)	lamp (black, placed in SE corner at the foot)	lamp	clay

Tomb 26, Section C

Type: cremation and inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 2; *Structure*: fossa (NE-SW) tangent to a monument; *Dimensions:* L-2.1 m; W-0.8 m; D-1.0 m

Description: Grave tangent to but not underneath monument. Half full of dirt and sand.

Contents: 20 objects, 5 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)–12.)	pots (in the fill)	vessel	clay
13.)–14.)	cups (black; in the fill)	drinking vessel	clay
15.)–16.)	lamps (black; placed on the right)	lamp	clay
17.)	lamp (Phoenician/Cypriot type; placed on the right side)	lamp	clay
18.)–19.)	two figurines (placed around the feet)	figurine	clay
20.)	cinerary urn (decorated with linear and floral motifs, yellowish clay background; placed in SE corner)	urn	clay

Tomb 32, Section A

Type: cremation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa
Description: Grave a circular pit, with no monument above.
Contents: 19 objects, 3 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)–5.)	female figurines (some with traces of colour, all wrapped in a himation, heads made separate from bodies; high in fill)	figurine	clay
6.)	fragmentary statue (high in fill)	figurine	clay?
7.)–9.)	female figurines (similar to but with smaller feet than 1–5; high in fill)	figurine	clay
10.)	semi-recumbent figurine (high in fill)	figurine	clay?
11.)–18.)	pots (black; high in fill)	vessel	clay
19.)	kalpis-shaped cinerary urn (black, with ribbed body, with garlands of lanceolate leaves and with other ornaments on the neck, orifice, and handles, all superimposed on red; placed 1/3 down into pit)	urn	clay

Tomb 39, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure:* fossa (direction: E-W), tangent to a monument; *Dimensions:* L-1.1 m; W-0.6 m; D-1.3 m.
Description: Grave covered with four slabs, with recessed lid. Head oriented towards the east; spine is hunchbacked.
Contents: 7 objects, 6 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	half-wreath of gilded leaves w/ gilded terracotta berries (placed next to the right hand)	wreath	clay/bronze/gold
2.)	amphora (dark, with neck widening towards the top, long cylindrical handles, and tapering body towards the bottom; placed in SW corner)	amphora	clay

	Object	Type	Material
3.)–4.)	pots (crude; placed towards the feet)	vessel	clay
5.)	cup (placed towards the feet)	drinking vessel	clay
6.)	alabastron (placed toward the feet)	unguent vessel	alabaster?
7.)	lamp (black; placed towards the feet)	lamp	clay

Tomb 40, Section C

Type: cremation and inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 2; *Structure*: fossa (direction, N-S), tangent to a monument; *Dimensions:* L-2.0 m; W-0.5 m; D-0.8 m

Description: Grave had non-recessed cover made of large and heavy slabs; tangent to a monument. Head oriented south. Grave full of sand and soil.

Contents: 17 objects, 8 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	cinerary urn (0.4 m high, w/ remains of gilding all over; placed on its side. by the head)	urn	clay/gold
2.)	alabastron (large, high quality)	unguent vessel	alabaster
3.)–5.)	alabaster vessels (smaller)	vessel	alabaster
6.)	alabaster vessel (fragmentary)	vessel	alabaster
7.)–8.)	terracotta alabastra/lacrimatoi	unguent vessel	clay
9.)	alabaster vase (0.14 m high, 0.12 m diameter; nearly cylindrical, truncated cone; placed near the feet, by the pit wall)	vessel	alabaster
10.)	bronze mirror (placed near the feet, by the pit wall)	mirror	bronze
11.)	plate (black; placed near the feet, by the pit wall)	dish	clay
12.)	plate (red; placed near the feet, by the pit wall)	dish	clay
13.)	hydria (small, black; placed near the feet, by the pit wall)	libation vessel	clay

(cont.)

	Object	Type	Material
14.)	garland of gilded bronze leaves w/ gilded terracotta berries; placed by the head)	wreath	terracotta/ bronze/gold
15.)	tongs	tongs	iron
16.)	black bucchero pot (unpainted)	vessel	clay

Tomb 46, Section B

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure*: fossa (direction: E-W) with a high monument; *Dimensions:* L-2.15 m; W-0.7 m; D-1.5 m

Description: Grave with a cover that is flush (recessed 0.3 m); monument above. Empty of sand and soil. Skeleton intact, in supine position with arms at sides, head oriented east.

Contents: 5 objects, 4 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	gilded terracotta berries and gilded bronze leaves (placed over face)	wreath/leaves	clay/bronze/ gold
2.)	bronze nail through piece of wood (coffin remnant?)	nail	bronze
3.)	mouth of terracotta alabastron (in place of heart)	unguent vessel	clay
4.)	alabastron w/ intact foot (in SW corner)	unguent vessel	alabaster
5.)	lamp (black, in SW corner)	lamp	clay

Tomb 50, Section C

Type: inhumation; *Number of Burials*: 1; *Structure*: fossa (direction: NE-SW), w/o monument.

Description: Grave is covered with un-recessed slabs and irregular blocks. Full of sand.

Contents: 4 objects, 2 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	saucer (yellow; found in the fill)	dish	clay
2.)	male figurine (young boy, half-lying on his right side, holding a duck in his arms; placed to the right of the head)	figurine	clay
3.)	dish (w/ remains of coloured paste; placed to the right of the head)	dish	clay
4.)	female figurine; placed to the right of the head)	figurine	clay

Tombs 35–37, Section B

Type: cremation; *Number of Burials*: 3; *Structure*: fossa with a high monument.
Description: Grave is a small rectangular pit, with a large monument above. Housed three urns, arranged side-by-side, within which was a mixture of ash, sand, and "pieces" (bone fragments?).
Contents: 6 objects, 4 types

	Object	Type	Material
1.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay
2.)	cinerary urn (fragmentary)	urn	clay
3.)	cinerary urn	urn	clay
4.)	terracotta and bronze wreaths (small bunches of gilded terracotta berries on bronze stems, within a casing of bronze triangular leaves resembling ivy)	wreath	bronze/clay/gold
5.)	alabastron fragments	unguent vessel	clay
6.)	terracotta heads	figurine	clay

Abbreviations

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